



**Paradigm Shift:
The Standing Rock Sioux and the Struggle of Our Time**

Valerie Fendt

An undergraduate thesis submitted to the Department of History
Columbia University

April 5, 2017 (Revised May 4, 2017)

Table of Contents

Page 3	Acknowledgements
Page 4	Introduction
Page 9	Chapter One: The Shifting Dispositions of Settler Colonialism
Page 26	Chapter Two: From Resistance to Resurgence
Page 42	Chapter Three: The Standing Rock Sioux and the Struggle of Our Time
Page 57	Conclusion
Page 59	Notes
Page 72	Bibliography

Acknowledgements

As a student who has had the great fortune to study at Columbia University I would like to recognize, honor, and thank the Lenni-Lenape people upon whose land this university sits and I have had the freedom to roam. I am indebted to the Indigenous scholars and activists who have shared their knowledge and made my scholarship on this subject what it is. All limitations are strictly my own, but for what I do know I am indebted to them. I am grateful to all of the wonderful people I met at Standing Rock in October of 2016. I can best describe the experience as a gift I will carry with me always. Thank you to the good people of the “solo chick warrior camp,” to Vanessa for inviting us in, to Leo for giving me the chance to employ usefulwhiteallyship, to Alexa for the picture that adorns this cover.

I would like to thank the history professors who have given so generously of their time, who have invested their energy and their work to assist my academic journey, encouraged my curiosity, helped me recognize my own voice, and believed it deserved to be heard. In particular, I would like to thank Premilla Nadasen for her willingness to take on the extra challenge of being an independent thesis advisor, especially while on sabbatical. My thanks also to Celia Naylor for reading and reflecting on my thesis, as well as for her generosity and compassion. Thanks also to Lisa Tiersten for having an open door and answering all questions, big and small. And an enormous thank you to Rozanne who put many books in my hand, papers within reach, and encouragement in my ear.

Introduction

For nearly a year we watched as a struggle played out in America's heartland, an uprising steeped in US history with enormous consequences not just for this country, but arguably with global significance. On its face, the tumult surrounding the Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL) cast the interests of the oil and gas industry, supported by the (current) US president and the Army Corps of Engineers, against Indigenous Americans and their supporter; this furor is sometimes portrayed as the forces of progress and modernization opposed by those caught in the past, resistant to necessary change. Delving into this issue, however, we can see that this is not just a conflict over a pipeline: it is a conflict over how to value life and land. We will see that for some, land is a resource to be developed for the creation and consolidation of wealth; for others, land is alive, belongs to no one, and should be respected and protected for sustaining those who live in harmony with it. The struggle that played out on the plains is a struggle that is being waged across this country and around the world, often on Indigenous lands, and as such it is an important reflection of the struggle of our time.

In May of 2014 the US Army Corps of Engineers (USACE) denied an initially proposed route for DAPL, a pipeline that would carry crude oil from the Bakken Shale region in Northwestern North Dakota to a hub in Illinois, based in part on the pipeline's proximity to wellhead source water protection areas for the municipal water supply of Bismarck.¹ Evidently recognizing that pipelines do, in fact, break, leak, or rupture, the USACE deemed this path too great a risk to the residents of the Bismarck/Mandan area. However, no such concern arose when the pipeline was rerouted to pass under the

Missouri River half a mile north of the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation. In a breathtaking act of erasure, the draft Environmental Assessment (EA) neither made reference in its writing nor showed in its maps the existence and proximity of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe (SRST) to the newly rerouted path.² Yet the USACE, an agency of the federal government that is tasked with overseeing the rights, resources, and interests of Indian people, and who in this capacity had the responsibility to notice and correct the EA, instead, approved it.³ Since they learned of the reroute, the SRST has fought this pipeline – in the courts, in the press, even on Capitol Hill. They have always understood that the odds were against them. Nevertheless, in order to honor their ancestors and the beliefs that are core to their identity, an identity clearly still under threat of elimination, they have persisted in their fight.

A clear understanding of the SRST's fight against DAPL requires a closer examination of the historical record. This needs to include the perspectives and experiences of the “first” Americans—Indigenous Americans and their descendants—a history often overlooked, minimized, or intentionally left out of the national narrative. Looking more deeply at the historical record illuminates the foundation for the intensity of Standing Rock's resistance, as well as the doubling down by those invested in maintaining the power of capital to dictate social and environmental policies. A closer look shows us that global capital, with 38 (known) international financial institutions, supports DAPL with \$10.25 billion in loans and credit.⁴ Yet we have also seen, upon closer examination, an incredibly diverse array and surprising volume of supporters willing to go on the record, as well as to physically go to North Dakota, to support the SRST.⁵ It is my hope that this thesis will not only help us understand how this fight has been building and why it is so important

in this moment, but also what the leadership of the Standing Rock resistance, the leadership of women and youth, offers us: as citizens of this country and as stewards of this earth. It is my belief that the resistance that began at Standing Rock is shifting the paradigm, is changing how Americans see themselves, and how they want to see their future.

Recognizing that American history from the white colonial perspective is the dominant narrative, this thesis will begin with a counter narrative: an abridged reexamination of historical events (primarily pertaining to the people whose descendants now make up the SRST) that explores the continuing effects of the settler colonial project and its driving force: capitalism. Chapter 1, *The Shifting Dispositions of Settler Colonialism*, will unpack the relationship of settler colonialism to land and identity by drawing on the work of Patrick Wolfe who emphasizes that settler colonialism is not a onetime event but rather an ongoing project to dispossess land and natural wealth from Indigenous peoples through processes that deliberately strive to disappear them.⁶ Alyosha Goldstein, who inspired the chapter title, elaborates on the assemblage of these interlocking processes: what he refers to as “shifting dispositions” that vary according to the needs of a given period, yet always advance the settler colonial goal of acquisition of land and elimination of the Native.⁷ This chapter also acknowledges the influence of John Locke on the moral and economic foundation of the US worldview. Many of Locke’s beliefs, including the moral superiority of private property and his utter omission of women’s roles and leadership, still resonate today and differ sharply from Indigenous values. By contextualizing the construction of DAPL within a broader historical picture, we can better understand our own responsibility within this struggle as well as the motivation for the resistance.

Chapter 2, *From Resistance to Resurgence*, underscores Indigenous resistance throughout the settler colonial project and how that resistance has developed into resurgence. Primarily focused on the Oceti Sakowin (the Seven Council Fires, the peoples that the US referred to as the Great Sioux Nation), this chapter revisits the many manifestations that resistance has taken over decades and centuries as the US strategically and systematically diminished the land base, population, and identity of the Oceti Sakowin. This chapter engages the writings of Indigenous scholars and activists who reject colonial “recognition” in no small part because the state would like to relegate the destructive characteristics of their relationship to history and does not acknowledge the ongoing devastation of settler colonial structures. Instead, these scholars and activists focus on what it means to return to the histories, languages, songs, cultural practices, systems of knowledge, values, and ways of governance that existed before the colonial disruption. Focusing on the knowledge passed down from their elders (that has enabled their survival thus far) they suggest that an Indigenous future must be based in the Indigenous values of balance, harmony, and respect for the sacred. It is a way of being in the world that recognizes the interconnectedness of all life and the responsibility and obligations that are a part of those relationships; it is a rejection of dominating and exploitive relationships with land, water, and living beings.

Chapter 3, *The Standing Rock Sioux and the Struggle of our Time*, examines the resistance at Standing Rock, how Indigenous resurgence has created an unexpected movement attracting remarkably diverse support from across the country (and the world). What are the intersections of where their interests align? What is it about this time and this movement that has succeeded in shifting the paradigm? Building on what has been

presented in chapters 1 and 2, this chapter illuminates how the struggle at Standing Rock is a microcosm not only of global challenges, but also of global resistance and of potential solutions through Indigenous leadership that many believe show the way forward in a perilous time.

This moment in history is defined by the hyper extraction of natural resources from Indigenous land by multinational corporations, or at least globally financed capital. The significance of the unification of hundreds of Indigenous Nations, the awakening of more than the usual faith organizations, military veterans, environmental activists and NGOs, community activists, city councils, progressive labor unions, and unaligned citizens is not lost on those who are financially invested in DAPL. To concede to the stopping of a pipeline is to concede much more than the pipeline itself. Manu Vimalassery described the threat of Harriet Tubman as much greater than the loss of “property” that she and the others she led to freedom were considered to be. By escaping slavery only to return, again and again, to free others, she exposed the vulnerability of the system.⁸ In chapter 3, I ask if the resistance at Standing Rock, the leadership of the women and the youth, is doing something similar. Perhaps we are being shown a viable way forward in this time of global ecological and economic crisis. There are clearly points of resonance on issues represented at Standing Rock: questions of law, of land, of life. With a more accurate understanding of this nation’s history, including the history and worldview of Indigenous Americans, we will be better able to make informed decisions about the future we must create together if we are to have any future at all.

Chapter One

The Shifting Dispositions of Settler Colonialism

“The American autobiography is written as the autobiography of the settler. The native has no place in it.” -Mahmood Mamdani⁹

Mahmood Mamdani’s words illustrate an often unquestioned and pervasive perspective of American history: the story of a nation starting anew, made up of immigrants looking for something better than what they were leaving behind, distinguishing themselves from where they came yet diminishing the significance of those they violently dispossessed. Native Americans figure only in the past, their elimination essential for a new identity to be formed, although the appropriation of names and vocabulary has been useful, even necessary, to differentiate settlers/Americans from the European homelands of the first colonists (the only colonists most of this country recognizes).¹⁰ Mamdani’s words also demonstrate why it is necessary for Americans to make a paradigmatic shift: to see that the settler colonial project has been built on the strategic and systematic devastation and elimination of Indigenous peoples. Because Indigenous Americans are still here. And the settler colonial project is ongoing.

In order to better understand the conflict at Standing Rock, we must recognize how the peoples of the Oceti Sakowin, whom the US referred to as the Sioux, experienced the American settler colonial project and the worldview that inspired it. This is fundamentally a struggle over land: how to “value” or live in relationship with it. It is also, as Mamdani points out and as will be developed, a conflict about identity. This chapter reviews an abridged history of how the Sioux have borne the weight of American expansion and economic development that continues with this recent pipeline through their treaty lands. It also briefly looks at the moral and arguably misogynistic influence of John Locke, whose

philosophy still permeates the dominant American worldview. By examining a few specific historical moments, this chapter illuminates the longevity and intensity of today's struggle. By directly connecting American expansion, energy independence, and wealth accumulation to the dispossession, diminution, and attempted erasure of Indigenous Americans, this chapter demonstrates that today's struggle is one which implicates all of us, not only in how we choose to participate (or not), but also in the consequences of what is at stake. In this regard, our inescapable complicity is part of what makes Standing Rock's resistance to DAPL an example of the struggle of our time.

The people of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe (SRST) are members of the Lakota and Dakota nations. Together with the Nakota, the Ojibwa referred to them as the "Nadouwesou," a name shortened and corrupted by the French to "Sioux." The Lakota, Nakota, and Dakota peoples are linked by language similarities and together make up what was once called the Great Sioux Nation, or as they call themselves, the Oceti Sakowin, the Seven Council Fires.¹¹ Each of these has its own cultural, political, territorial, and linguistic distinctions.¹² The Standing Rock Reservation, straddling the border between what is now North and South Dakota, is one of six reservations reduced and set aside to contain the Sioux from the vast area that ranged across five states.

Throughout their history, the Sioux's survival depended upon their ability to adapt: moving as necessary, changing or modifying methods of subsistence, and mastering new technology as it was introduced to them. The horses they rode were descendants from those brought over by the Spanish; the early acquisition of guns by their Indigenous enemies in part fueled the departure of many Lakota from the woodlands of the upper Mississippi to the plains. Their mastery of guns and horses allowed them to thrive on the

plains, following the buffalo that provided their subsistence.¹³ Even today their mastery of technology has provided an overhead view of the struggle at Standing Rock.¹⁴ These are clearly a people who have been willing and able to adapt and change their lifestyle in order to survive and even flourish; their respect for the land, their understanding of the relational balance between all living things was not what was challenged in rivalries with other Indigenous people. The structure of settler colonialism, however, which began directly impacting the Oceti Sakowin in the 1800's, is not one that has respected Indigenous sovereignty or left space for any identity other than "American." The understanding and "value" placed on land by the settler society could not coexist with Indigenous beliefs of relationality and responsibility to all life and land. To better understand how American economic and political policies would deleteriously and unendingly assault the people of the Oceti Sakowin I will define what I mean by settler colonialism and look at the basis for its economic and moral advance.

As I understand Patrick Wolfe, settler colonialism can be distinguished from franchise colonialism in that the goal is not to dominate an existing population in order to capitalize on their labor and extract the natural and generated wealth to send back to the metropole.¹⁵ Rather, settler colonialism is about territoriality: it is the acquisition of land and resources and the erasure or assimilation of its previous inhabitants in order to create a new, hegemonic identity that claims all land, resources, and wealth as its own. This type of colonization is not encompassed in a one-time event or even a singular time period. It is, instead, an ongoing process. As Wolfe points out, invasion is a structure that reverberates through history, and the "logic of elimination" is an organizing principal of settler colonial society.¹⁶ This chapter will elaborate on how invasion, the taking of land, and destruction of

Indigenous identities and lifeways continued throughout American history (and continued to be resisted). It will show that the “logic of elimination” has taken many forms, creating an assemblage of sorts that Alyosha Goldstein refers to as the “shifting dispositions” of settler colonialism—dispositions that vary “from accommodation to annihilation to inclusion of indigenous peoples.”¹⁷ The resulting system, as will be demonstrated, is one that seeks to dispossess Indigenous peoples of their land by removal to reservations, provocation and then genocidal retaliation, elimination of native title to land, prohibition of religious and linguistic practices, and removal of children to boarding schools. All of these processes, as Wolfe makes clear, are characteristics of settler colonialism.¹⁸ The methods of elimination covered in this chapter have been multifaceted and geared to fit the agenda of the dominant society of the given historical moment. Although these dispositions took different forms at different times, together they functioned as interlocking processes of expropriation and erasure. The results have been devastating, but not completely successful. The Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, and many other Indigenous peoples, are still here and still fighting for survival. The fight against DAPL is the continuation of the resistance to dispossession of Native land and resources, a struggle that still threatens the lives and the lifeways of Indigenous people who have been under siege since the first settlers arrived on this continent.

The moral and economic basis of settler colonialism, the belief that land is a commodity from which wealth can/should be developed, is attributable, at least in part, to John Locke. Without going too far afield, we should recognize the breadth of his influence, particularly on the dominant American worldview. Locke, considered by some to be the father of “Liberalism,” wrote in the late 17th century about the transition of land from

common to private property through the efforts of personal labor. His was a Christian, monotheistic lens through which to see the world: God gave man the earth and reason, with which man would determine how best to take advantage of all that nature offered.¹⁹ It is through personal labor that man claims his share of land from that which is shared in common. For Locke, the working of the land is not only what creates the distinction of private property and then profit, it is a moral imperative: God's law demands the domination and cultivation of the earth, which in turn grants man dominion over his labor.²⁰ Locke's vision supports colonial conquest by suggesting a mandate from God. This view also considers that any land, "that is left wholly to nature, that hath no improvement of pasturage, tillage or planting, is called, as indeed it is, *waste*."²¹ At no point in this treatise does Locke ever mention women, their roles, rights, or responsibilities within society; his use of feminine pronouns is only in relation to animals or nature, which he states are for man's use and domination. One might argue that this omission or pejorative status of women is attributable to the time in which he was writing, that these ideas are no longer relevant. I suggest that his view of women, like his belief in the supremacy of Christianity and his understanding of land as a conduit to wealth, not only persists and undergirds our modern American paradigm, but also differs radically from the worldview in which Indigenous peoples operated, even in the 17th century.

To be clear, Indigenous peoples are not a monolithic group who all have the same belief system; Indigenous nations have different creation stories, different traditions of government, different ways of living with the land.²² However, as Indigenous scholars and activists underscore, and as will be explored more in depth in the next chapter on resistance and resurgence, there are many consistent features that are shared across

cultures. Many of these speak of a connection to the land. As writer and scholar Leanne Simpson states, “everything we have of meaning comes from the land—our political systems, our intellectual systems, our health care, food security, language and our spiritual sustenance and our moral fortitude.”²³ Unlike the absence or diminution of women in Locke’s worldview, in many Indigenous societies women’s roles and power have been valued from time immemorial. Legal scholar Rebecca Tsosie reminds us that in many tribes gender roles were perceived as complementary and not as dichotomous, that despite differently gendered roles, the significance of the responsibilities was not hierarchical.²⁴ In order to fully grasp the impact of settler colonialism we must understand what cultures, religious beliefs, and worldviews it sought to “destroy in order to replace” with the Locke-inspired, Christian, capitalist, American paradigm.²⁵

For the Sioux, the era of treaties with the United States began a year after the US acquired the Louisiana Territory, with a treaty of peace and friendship in 1805. It was the first of many treaties that, in theory, at least recognized the sovereignty of each other’s nation through government-to-government relations, and at best outlined how the nations might coexist. However, the most serious impacts of American expansion began near mid-century. Unbeknownst to the Sioux, after the Yellowstone expedition of 1825, the US considered the upper plains region, “the Great American Desert,” and had designated it “Permanent Indian Country.”²⁶ What that meant in practical terms was that this was an area through which settlers sought to pass, not stay.

By mid-century, settlers were claiming land all the way to the Mississippi River. There was a fervor to extend the western and southern boundaries of the United States to the Pacific Ocean including what are now the southwestern states from Texas to California

that were at that time part of Mexico. The righteous—indeed, imperative—nature of this expansion was grounded in the belief that this was a providential mission: to not only “civilize” the Indigenous people, but also to maximize economic opportunity through the working of the land. Manifest Destiny, as this concept was called, was steeped in the Lockean view that civilization was synonymous with Christianity: other spiritual beliefs were not recognized; other cultural practices were not respected. It also reflected Locke’s view that private property should be seized from communal land by human labor in order to maximize its value. Contrary to the claim that Manifest Destiny would expand the progress of liberty, its effect on Indigenous peoples was one of constriction, with the creation of treaties intended to confine their movements, reduce their land base, and restrict their cultural and spiritual practices.

The 1851 Treaty of Fort Laramie with the Sioux and several other Indigenous nations was just such a treaty, created to enable easier American expansion while restricting the presence and movement of Indigenous peoples. Under the auspices of creating safe passage for settlers heading west, this treaty allowed the US to build roads and military posts in specific areas unimpeded. Accordingly, the US pledged to ensure that non-Natives would not violate the treaty boundaries and that the US would provide fifty thousand dollars’ worth of compensation per annum for a set number of years for any damages as well as to improve the “moral and social customs” of the Indigenous peoples.²⁷ In a paradigm that did not recognize women’s leadership in government or other significant roles, it is perhaps understandable that the US chose men who seemed to be important to make decisions by which the US expected the whole community to abide. However, most Indigenous communities operated out of consensus; it was not the place of

any one person to determine or sign off on a decision upon which the whole community did not agree. Consequently, not only were many members of those nations unaware of the treaty of 1851, significant numbers did not feel compelled to abide by it, having not been part of the decision-making process. It became immediately clear that the US, for its part, had no intention of abiding by the treaty, as settlers continued to pass through treaty lands without governmental hindrance. By 1859, when gold was discovered in Colorado, the wagon trains were no longer just passing through “Permanent Indian Country,” but coming to stay. 1858-1862 saw more than 80,000 emigrants arrive.²⁸

The extractive policies of settler colonial America continued to impact Indigenous Americans even hundreds of miles away. When prospectors discovered gold at the headwaters of the Missouri River in present day Montana, it impacted the Sioux from Minnesota all the way westward. In 1862, the Santee (Dakota), confined to their shrunken parcel of land without the tools and means of subsistence promised by the US government, starving as they awaited the dispersal of food and aid which the government distributed through third parties, rose up to drive out the settlers who had so calamitously impacted their lives. The response from the Army was swift and devastating: the Union Army, in crushing the revolt, slaughtered Dakota civilians and rounded up hundreds of men, pursuing all others far into 1851 treaty land.²⁹ Three hundred prisoners were sentenced to die. In the end, Lincoln ordered the numbers reduced and 38 were selected at random, killed in the largest mass hanging in US history.³⁰ It is important to notice the scale of response to the perceived offense and ask ourselves what truly was the objective of such a response. As Edward Lazarus wrote of the Army’s relentless pursuit westward of the few remaining Santee, “the real reason was to clear a safe path to new mining in Montana.”³¹

While that was likely an unstated goal, we should ask, in addition, if the incommensurate violence exercised against the Santee was part of a broader, unstated goal of total elimination.

Such a response as the Union Army's relentless pursuit of the Santee was made possible by the federal government's expansion with the onset of the Civil War. Numerous scholars point out that many of the military attacks upon Indigenous Americans could not have happened without the buildup of Armed Forces in response to the Confederate States' secession and the ensuing Civil War.³² Volunteer militias, responding to Lincoln's call as he pulled the professional army east to fight the Confederate Army, supported the army in the west. With few confederate forces to fight, they often chose the perceived enemy closest to hand: Indigenous people.³³

Unprovoked massacres were not uncommon at this time (nor during the Indian Wars that followed) and they often went unexplained. Every act of resistance by Native peoples was met with unequal force, and often merely the existence of Natives was reason enough for slaughter. LaDonna Brave Bull Allard, founder of the Sacred Stone Camp (2016) and Tribal Historian at Standing Rock, is, like most of her community, the descendant of one of the children who survived the Whitestone Massacre, where an estimated 300 to 400 Lakota and Dakota, mainly women and children, were killed. In September of 1863 a community of 4000 had gathered as they did every year at that time to hunt together, hold harvest festivities, visit relatives, have ceremonies, and to collectively participate in trade and prepare for the winter.³⁴ When the Sioux learned of the Army's approach, many of the men rode out, under the makeshift white flag of a flour sack, to speak to them. The US Army arrested the men and then attacked the remaining women and children as they tried to flee

the assault.³⁵ Even though the motivation for the Whitestone Massacre is unexplained, its military leaders were commended.³⁶ Perhaps it was enough that one of the military leaders of the assault was still seeking the elusive one tenth of the Santee that had not been killed or imprisoned in Minnesota.³⁷ In a further act of elimination that was often repeated after violent onslaughts from US troops, the commanding officer ordered the destruction of food and equipment left behind by the dead, dying, and imprisoned Sioux.³⁸ Whitestone Hill was hardly an anomaly. Other massacres followed throughout and after the Civil War, occasionally accompanied by a brutality that allowed body parts of the slain to be mounted and displayed as trophies, begging the question of whether soldiers even recognized the humanity of those they were slaughtering.³⁹ Such acts of elimination did not need a conflict to justify perpetration: their disproportionate violence demonstrated a warning to Indigenous peoples who stood in the path of settlement.

It was not just the military that expanded because of the Civil War. When the southern states seceded, they eliminated resistance to the Homestead Act, controversial for lack of agreement on whether territorial expansion would include or prohibit slavery. With fewer oppositional representatives, Congress was able to pass a number of Acts that expanded US territorial reach and economic development. The Morrill Land Grant Act, the Pacific Railroad Act, and the Homestead Act, all exacerbated conflicts with Native Americans as more of their land was unilaterally taken and dispersed to corporations, universities, and settlers. The Pacific Railroad Act alone provided nearly two hundred million acres of Indigenous land to private companies, much of which was not in the path of the railroads and consequently was sold for private profit.⁴⁰ Railroads had existed in the eastern US previous to the Civil War, but the Pacific Railroad Act ensured their primacy in

the transit of people and commerce westward. It also ensured the consolidation of wealth of the railroad barons including Leland Stanford, Cornelius Vanderbilt, Johns Hopkins, and Collis Potter Huntington.

The Homestead Act offered an invitation to (white) immigrants worldwide, as well as those in the eastern United States, who would help to “settle and improve” public lands which could be turned from an expenditure for the US government into an asset with the opportunity of taxation.⁴¹ It also offered what Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz called “an ‘escape valve,’ lessening the likelihood of class conflict as the industrial revolution accelerated the use of cheap immigrant labor.”⁴² In a time of American industrialization it undoubtedly helped to have a steady flow of often desperately poor immigrants to keep wages low in the East, with a promise of land in the West to discourage disgruntled workers from industrial action. The Homestead Act also offered an opportunity for those who were not poor to acquire even more. The Act granted legal title to 160 acres of land to a single-family homesteader after he, in literal manifestation of Locke’s philosophy, cleared, made improvements, and occupied the land for five years. Those who could pay or collectively pool their funds could not only claim their 160 acres in six months by paying cash, but they also could do so with another parcel six months later for \$1.25 an acre, while fulfilling requirements for a timber culture claim and a desert land claim, simultaneously, without requirements for occupancy.⁴³ The resulting acquisition of acreage far exceeds the individual homestead limit of 160 in a fraction of the time. As Dunbar-Ortiz articulated, “...land as a commodity, ‘real estate,’ remained the basis of the US economy and capital accumulation.”⁴⁴ Indigenous Americans stood perilously in the way of an incomprehensible goal of accumulation; their elimination from the landscape, by extermination or removal,

was essential to the settler colonial project.

The response of Indigenous peoples to the increasingly genocidal disposition of US colonialism after the Civil War varied, even within the peoples of the Oceti Sakowin. When the US again created a treaty to change the borders of the Great Sioux Nation, the 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie, some leaders were willing to sign. Although the treaty did change the boundaries of Sioux territory, it also specified that the Black Hills were included and “set apart for the absolute and undisturbed use and occupation” of those Indian nations who were signatories.⁴⁵ This was significant because the Black Hills, known as Paha Sapa, have been the center of the Lakota creation story and consequently considered sacred ground. Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull were among those who refused to sign.

After the 1868 Fort Laramie treaty, the dispositions of settler colonialism shifted again, adding an interlocking process of erasure of Indigeneity to further the goal of Indigenous elimination from the landscape. The federal government continued to protect its economic interests, notwithstanding the treaties it signed, by allowing Northern Pacific Railroad crews in unceded territory. When Sitting Bull and others objected and opposed these incursions, the government responded by building more forts, threatening military violence in order to protect railroad employees and settlers, another open violation of the treaty for the advancement of American development.⁴⁶ In addition to the use of military force, the US thrust a “Christianizing and civilizing” project upon the Sioux.⁴⁷ This was a deliberate and strategic attempt to destroy Indigenous identity by prohibiting traditional spiritual and cultural practices and forcing cultural assimilation. Beginning in 1869 the US government assigned various Christian denominations to administer the reservations and carry out the “civilizing” project.⁴⁸

The most egregious violations of the 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie came after 1874 when the US sent an armed geological expedition, led by George Custer, into the Black Hills in search of gold. When the expedition discovered it, the extractive pursuit of wealth drew thousands of prospectors to the territory that the 1868 treaty had “set apart for the absolute and undisturbed use and occupation” of the Sioux.⁴⁹ Clarifying once and for all that the US viewed treaties only as a means to contain and control Indigenous peoples, the US again made no effort to execute its legal responsibilities to protect the Sioux from settler encroachment. Instead the US government began to force all of the Oceti Sakowin living on unceded territory on to reservations. Although the US warned that all those who did not move to reservations would be considered hostile, there were still some, Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse among them, who asserted their rights to remain on the unceded land. The Army relentlessly pursued those who resisted the order sending Custer back to Sioux territory with 225 men of the seventh cavalry. His decision to attack a large encampment of allied tribes along the Little Bighorn River proved fatal. Within 45 minutes he and his entire company were killed. Although it was not a battle they sought out, the Sioux knew that retribution for their defiance and self-defense would be ruthless. Sitting Bull left with some for Canada, temporarily, while others made their way to reservations where, forced to give up their guns and horses, they were regarded as prisoners. No longer bothering with treaties, the US, through an Act of Congress, seized the Black Hills and extinguished hunting rights on un-ceded territory. It was a shameless and gratuitous act of domination by the US, even acknowledged as such by some in government at the time.⁵⁰

It was not enough to force Native Americans on to reservations, however. The quest for land continued, as did the need to eliminate Indigenous identity. 1887 brought the

Dawes Act, also known as the Allotment Act, or according to Vine Deloria, Junior, an act, “to make Indians into white farmers.”⁵¹ The Dawes act split up communally held land into parcels of 160 acres per head of family, which not only intended to impose a Lockean appreciation and value for private property upon a communally centered society, but considered everything not allotted after a certain period in trust as surplus (waste?) land which could be sold by the government (for significant profit) to settlers.⁵² Over the 47 years that allotment was enforced roughly 40 percent of all Indian landholdings (more than 60 million acres) passed into settler hands having been declared surplus to Indian needs.⁵³ Even before the Dawes Act, the government carved up what remained of Sioux territory into six smaller reservations (one of which is Standing Rock), freeing up nine million acres of surplus land.

Once again showing the interlocking nature of dispositions that not only removed Indigenous peoples from the land, but that also sought to eliminate their identity, the 1883 institution of the Indian Offenses engendered a doubling down on the disposition of assimilation. The goal was to eliminate traditional ceremonial practices such as sun dances, give-aways, rites of purification, and many other ceremonies.⁵⁴ These ancient, community-building, spiritually necessary practices that reinforced the commitment and responsibility that Indigenous people had to each other, to all life, and to the land were neither understood nor respected in the dominant paradigm. Instead, Indigenous cultural, spiritual, and traditional practices were considered heathen and “war-like.”⁵⁵ Indians were confined to reservations, needing written permission to leave. Parents who kept their children out of school (taught in English, by Christian evangelicals) faced arrest or having their food rations withheld.⁵⁶ This was also the time of boarding schools, of which by 1900

there would be almost 150, enrolling thousands of Indigenous children systematically stripped of their culture: forced to cut their hair and change their names, forbidden from using their language or learning their own history and culture.⁵⁷ Articulating his ideology Captain Richard Pratt, head of the US Training and Industrial School in Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, professed of his students, “Kill the Indian in him, and save the man.”⁵⁸ By the 1900’s, the physical, large-scale genocide of Indigenous peoples was less socially acceptable. However, the operating paradigm still proffered the necessity of deliberate, methodical elimination of Indigenous cultural and spiritual identity; the strategic and systematic destruction of Indigeneity persisted.

FDR and the New Deal ushered in a more conciliatory shift of disposition towards Indigenous people. In 1934 the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) was passed which put a stop to allotment, although by that time most reservations looked like checkerboards, with some Sioux reservations holding onto only twenty percent of their land.⁵⁹ The IRA, also known as the Wheeler-Howard Act, formally recognized tribal councils and offered the opportunity for tribes to reorganize under a constitutional form of government (most of which were written in Washington), as well as greater financial opportunities (in the form of loans to those who reorganized). The response was by no means unified; many tribes were unenthusiastic.⁶⁰ Some felt they already had their own government, one that negotiated treaties that the US had yet to honor.⁶¹ Some had bought into the American (Lockean) idea of private property, and were reluctant to pool their resources and lands, their community and clan-based connections disrupted by decades of colonial devastation.⁶²

Another shift in the settler colonial disposition took effect with the Flood Control

Act of 1944, or the Pick-Sloan Plan (PSP). The PSP operated out of a paradigm (still tied to Locke) that man could conquer nature and profit from it, too. It was an opportunity to use engineering to control flooding, aid navigation and irrigation, while generating hydroelectric energy from a series of dams, levees, and reservoirs constructed along the Missouri River. Like today's struggle "for energy independence" that supposedly comes through pipelines, the question of placement, for dams and reservoirs as for pipelines, focused on the least impact to the settler cities and towns and involved no consideration or consultation with the Indigenous peoples whose lands were/are appropriated or put at risk by their locations.⁶³ For the Standing Rock Sioux alone this meant a loss of more than 55,000 acres of land: the most valuable rangeland for grazing, most of their gardens, cultivated farm tracts, wild fruit, and wildlife resources.⁶⁴ Ninety percent of their timberland was destroyed, with devastating impact not just on the people who still often cooked and heated their homes with fire, but also on the ecosystems of all life surrounding them and on cultures concerned with those living relationships.⁶⁵ Even by the 1980s, most reservations affected by the PSP were still without electrical service because their members could not afford it; there was no evidence this massive energy plan had provided lower electrical rates to those who had paid so dearly for it.⁶⁶ The rest of South Dakota was left to wonder who the economic winners were (the power companies?), as only 19% of the total economic benefit returns to the state that generates 69% of the hydropower capacity.⁶⁷

We can find the roots of the SRST's current distrust and lack of faith in the US Army Corps of Engineers by looking less than six decades back (within the lifetime of LaDonna Allard) to their experience of the PSP. In his two books on the project, Michael Lawson

details the legal responsibilities as well as the actual roles and behavior of government agencies and Congressional representatives in the planning and execution of the PSP. His research as well as his chronicling of the deliberate, repeated exclusion of Indigenous input into the process was used in the congressional hearings that eventually awarded damages to the affected tribes.⁶⁸ Like today, the USACE considered alterations necessary to protect cities and towns (Williston, Pierre, and Fort Pierre) without extending those same considerations to Indigenous populations; their negotiation was from a point of disavowing responsibility.⁶⁹ In addition, their eviction of the SRST from the claimed land was arbitrary and needlessly cruel, served in the depths of winter in 1960, without advance settlement funds to prepare for the move, and months earlier than the summer deadline necessitated.⁷⁰ The parallels to today ought to be discomfiting.

It has been the goal of this chapter to lay a richer, more accurate historical context to ground our understanding of today's struggle against DAPL. The US has taken many positions towards Indigenous Americans and the Standing Rock Sioux. Creating treaties to which we did not adhere, abolishing the treaty system in favor of unilateral acts of congress, criminalizing culture, annihilating through military force, and erasing Indigeneity through assimilation: these are just some of the interlocking processes the US has employed to claim the land and eliminate the Native. All because we believed that we had a divine right or at least a responsibility to exploit the land for maximum economic value. We did not understand nor respect the concept of living in relation to land as an equal form of life. The struggle at Standing Rock is predicated on a rejection of this longstanding, dominating, and destructive worldview. This struggle, at this time, requires us to make a paradigm shift.

Chapter Two

From Resistance to Resurgence

“Indigenous survival as peoples is due to centuries of resistance and storytelling passed through the generations...this survival is dynamic, not passive. Surviving genocide, by whatever means, *is* resistance.” - Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz⁷¹

Indigenous resistance, like the assaults on their land and identity, has taken many forms over the centuries. Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz’s quotation reminds us that in the face of settler colonialism’s continuing goal to eliminate the Native, the survival of Indigeneity, by whatever means, has been proof of resistance. Although the cost of settler colonialism, measured in loss of people, culture, traditions, and epistemologies, has been enormous, Indigenous people have persevered in their resistance against pervasive and nefarious processes employed to undermine their existence and identity. This has been accomplished through storytelling, oral histories, the covert continuation of languages despite deliberate attempts to destroy them, embodied practices of cultural ceremonies regardless of their criminalization, and the guarding and perpetuation of traditional knowledge passed down from generations through time immemorial. This resistance to settler colonialism has not been static; Indigenous peoples have literally and figuratively embodied it within their survival.

This chapter looks at a few specific moments in the history of Indigenous resistance—from the Ghost Dance in the late 19th century, when Indigenous peoples danced and prayed in defiance and reclamation of identity, to the occupation of Alcatraz in 1969, which reclaimed surplus land and drew attention to broken treaties. It will also look briefly at the American Indian Movement and their sometimes-armed struggle against abuses of Indigenous Americans—those who were encouraged to leave the reservation

with promises of a better life in cities, and those still on reservations where corrupt tribal governance often colluded with a Bureau of Indian Affairs disinterested in the wellbeing of Native Americans. This chapter will briefly touch on some of these earlier acts of resistance, and the state's response to them, to help us comprehend how we have arrived at this moment, today: the resistance at Standing Rock and a movement that embodies Indigenous resurgence. For the most part, earlier acts of resistance met the colonial power on terms that Indigenous people did not set. Indigenous resurgence, in building on these earlier acts of resistance, not only rejects the colonial worldview, but also asserts a different paradigm, one in which Indigenous beliefs, values, and practices determine priorities and inform the actions of resistance.

My understanding of Indigenous resurgence is based on the writings of Indigenous scholars, writers, and activists who describe a way of being in the world that is not defined or contained by the values and recognition bestowed by a settler colonial government. Rather, Indigenous resurgence looks for guidance and recovery to Indigenous epistemologies, traditional governance, cultural and spiritual practices, reciprocal and respectful relationships, all of which are tied to the land. As will be explored, Indigenous resurgence describes a worldview that does not consider land and nature as resources to be exploited, but as life forces to be respected and lived with harmoniously. We have seen Indigenous resurgence embodied in the Idle No More movement that started in the settler state of Canada in December of 2012 before spreading to the US and then globally. And now Standing Rock. This chapter seeks to contextualize Standing Rock's struggle against DAPL within a broader history of resistance as well as presenting a clearer picture of a worldview at odds with that which is put forth by this country. When we see the struggle against DAPL

as not only resistance to the predatory policies of extractive, capitalist accumulation, but also as an assertion of relational, respectful coexistence among living beings, we recognize we have a choice. It is, perhaps, easier to embrace a necessary paradigm shift when there is something to move towards, instead of just something to resist.

As discussed at the end of the last chapter, near the end of the 19th century the US had virtually imprisoned Indigenous peoples on reservations, condensing their land base and containing their mobility. By cutting off Indigenous peoples' means of providing for themselves, without allowing access to their traditional lands on which they hunted, harvested, gathered medicinal herbs, and maintained their subsistence, by splitting up and separating clans and communities, the US attempted to render Native Americans dependent, isolated peoples. These were not coincidental occurrences; these processes happened simultaneously and strategically. Certainly, this was the case for the Sioux, who found their lands greatly reduced from the borders determined by the Fort Laramie treaties of 1851 and 1868 down to six separate reservations. Some of the Sioux found a reprieve, a glimmer of hope and pride, in the form of the Ghost Dance. A pan-tribal religious movement that originated from a Paiute holy man, it promised to restore the Indigenous pre-colonial world, making the white man go away and the buffalo return.⁷² It became a ceremony of resistance and celebration in a time of cultural genocide. The ceremony was one of dancing, non-stop, the participants sometimes falling into convulsions, some having visions. In a time of tremendous loss of land, community, and prohibition of cultural practices, their restoration, even fleetingly, clearly held an appeal. Armed with nothing more than a special shirt, the ghost dancers terrified settlers and reservation officials alike. Their paradigm still held that the participants were war-like heathens. The response was to

make the Ghost dance illegal and to round up all practitioners and anyone else resistant to policies of assimilation.

It was under this pretense that the government sent Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) police to arrest Sitting Bull at Standing Rock, although he did not participate in the Ghost Dance. When a scuffle broke out Sitting Bull and a dozen others were killed.⁷³ Yet the Ghost Dance continued, with people slipping away from the reservations to find a ceremony in which to participate. The US doubled down on “fomenters of disturbance” and went after all Natives not on designated reservations.⁷⁴ It was the winter of 1890, with the Ghost Dance stirring Native pride and settler ire, that the US perpetrated its most infamous massacre at Wounded Knee. The 7th cavalry intercepted a community of 350 Lakota, mostly women and children, on route to the Pine Ridge reservation. It took only moments to kill more than 300 Sioux.⁷⁵ Whether that was the original intention or an organic reaction to circumstances, it is notable that the US was willing to use incommensurate, murderous violence upon those who resisted and challenged cultural hegemony. While it was decades before the US recognized what happened at Wounded Knee as a massacre instead of a battle, the Sioux had no such trouble.⁷⁶ Nor did they forget that the reason for the massacre, like the assassination of Sitting Bull, was to pursue and punish those who practiced cultural resistance through the Ghost Dance.

While Dunbar-Ortiz reminds us that resistance has taken many forms, some of the most visible acts of resistance have been when people rose up and put their bodies on the line. After the Ghost Dance, we saw this most starkly in the late 1960s and early 1970s with the formation of the American Indian Movement (AIM) and the Indians of All Tribes. The 1960s were a time of great social upheaval as people organized and protested a

controversial war in Vietnam in which we purported to save the Vietnamese from the evils of communism by installing liberty and capitalism instead. Rejecting the government's projection of America's motivation for involvement in this war, people filled the streets protesting an imperialist war and a lack of liberty at home: the liberty to sit anywhere on a bus, at a lunch counter, to be educated equally, or even the liberty to exercise their right to vote. Inspired by social justice movements of the time, Indigenous youth began to organize around the material concerns of poverty and neglect of Indigenous peoples, but also to remind the government of broken treaties and promises that offered little chance for an improved future.

It was Indigenous youth who had mostly grown up off-reservation who spearheaded the organization both of AIM and also the Indians of All Tribes. Many of their families had moved to cities when the US started its "termination" policy: an unambiguous attempt to terminate US responsibilities to tribes, while grabbing the land and encouraging Indigenous assimilation through migration to urban areas.⁷⁷ Most of those who relocated stayed, although city living was not easier than the reservations from which they came: jobs were hard to find, housing was expensive, cities were lonely and often hostile to Native Americans.⁷⁸ It was in these urban areas that Indigenous communities formed and organized.

When seventy-eight Native American students and community members sailed out to Alcatraz and claimed the island by right of "discovery" they issued a proclamation that pilloried settler colonial conquest, and then built a village that welcomed Natives from across the country, radicalizing thousands, particularly Indigenous youth.⁷⁹ In a reversal of US policy to claim "surplus land" from Indian reservations, the "Indians of All Tribes," as

this pan-Indian alliance called themselves, reclaimed the abandoned island to create a communal space (again, a reversal of the pursuit of private property) that would presage Indigenous resurgence by building an Indigenous future that they saw slowly being eliminated through US policies. Their efforts sought to establish on the island Indigenous cultural and spiritual centers as well as places to teach Native arts and history. After President Nixon ordered the evacuation of the island, the demands of the Indians saw at least some fruition as a Native American-Chicano college and movement center was founded near Davis, California and UC Davis, already in the process of establishing the first Native American Studies department, became the first US university to offer a doctorate in the subject.⁸⁰

While growing disunity, governmental opposition, and a staggering number of logistical challenges limited the Alcatraz occupation to a nonetheless stunning period of eighteen months, AIM survived longer. Formed in 1968 in Minneapolis by young men who had grown up in boarding schools or cities, AIM was rooted in its community of urban Indians. Taking inspiration from the contemporary Black Panther Party, AIM formed branches in cities across the country, offering support to Indigenous peoples from Indigenous peoples.⁸¹ Inspired also by the occupation of Alcatraz, they not only sought to build a movement that defended their communities, but also exposed unjust policies, laws, and practices by the federal as well as tribal governments.

In 1973 Oglala Lakota traditional people on the Pine Ridge Sioux Reservation asked AIM for help against an increasingly authoritarian chairman they believed to be colluding with the federal government in exacerbating their impoverishment. The significance of this request cannot be overstated. The leadership of AIM was made up of young men that had

been forcibly cut off from their traditions, their cultures, and their languages: many had those things beaten out of them in boarding school; others were a generation removed from those cultural connections. The elders on the reservation, with their access to traditional knowledge, practices, and language, had something priceless and irreplaceable that had been denied to AIM members.⁸² The invitation offered a validation of what these young people did have: a boldness born of hard survival in the cities and a kinesthetic understanding of dominant society matched with an ability to navigate within it.

When AIM met with the local elders they decided, together, to protest at nearby Wounded Knee the violence, corruption, and intimidation of local and federal authorities. The armed protesters were immediately surrounded and a standoff ensued. While the leadership of AIM was primarily men, like other movements of its time AIM could never have achieved the success that it did, including the standoff at Wounded Knee, without the daring, intelligent, and committed participation of Indigenous women. It was mainly Lakota women who slipped through a heavily militarized perimeter that included snipers, tanks, and helicopters, for two and a half months to sustain the protestors' daily needs.⁸³ There were women who were armed and participating within the standoff, itself, like Regina Brave (who was also one of the last to be evicted from the camps protesting DAPL), yet the challenge to internalized colonial perceptions of gender roles and their perceived hierarchical values was not as visible from the outside. Most of the images, as well as the narratives, neglect the influence and participation of women within the movement. Nevertheless, as Paul Smith and Robert Warrior suggest in their book on the Indian Movement, the standoff at Wounded Knee was, arguably, the "finest moment" in AIM's history: "Together, the chiefs, the local activists, and AIM could accomplish what

individually they could not, a synergy that perfectly realized the vision AIM always had for itself as a modern-day warrior society and defender of Indian communities.”⁸⁴ The standoff ended with an agreement that some of the Lakota would get a meeting with a representative of the White House, auditors would look at the tribal government’s books, and the Justice department would look into the civil rights abuses by the tribal chairman’s armed guards. In return, one of AIM’s leaders was immediately arrested, the others laid down their arms, and many were later prosecuted. The government was able to bankrupt and disable AIM by arrests and prosecutions following the seventy-one day standoff at Wounded Knee in 1973.⁸⁵ They did not succeed, however, in undermining Indigenous resistance or extinguishing the strength and pride AIM helped to restore after more than a century of targeted diminution.

The underlying ideas of Indigenous Resurgence are not new. Indeed, Smith and Warrior recount a conversation between AIM founders discussing a future time when the Indian struggle would abandon ideas of reforming the Bureau of Indian Affairs and instead look through their own histories to find models of leadership, education, economy and social relations.⁸⁶ Although these ideas have always persisted, the work of Indigenous activists and scholars, from inside and outside of the Academy, have brought a wider attention to them in recent years. Given that cultural and physical genocide have exacted a toll on the practices and perpetuation of traditional knowledge, values, and processes, it makes sense that Indigenous peoples’ ability to resurge and reclaim would develop from a prioritizing of Indigenous knowledge.

At the conclusion of his book, *Red Skin White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition*, Glen Sean Coulthard posits that Indigenous peoples should shift their attention

and efforts away from a rights based/recognition orientation, “to a resurgent politics of recognition that seeks to practice decolonial, gender-emancipatory, and economically nonexploitative alternative structures of law and sovereign authority grounded on a critical refashioning of the best of Indigenous legal and political traditions.”⁸⁷ At the risk of being repetitive, it is important to state that there is great diversity among the Indigenous peoples of North America and there is no one set of customs, spiritual beliefs, cultural practices, or ideas of political governance. Nevertheless, as Taiaiake Alfred suggests, there exists a common bond among Indigenous Americans that allows for an understanding “of a ‘Native American’ political tradition: a commitment to a profoundly respectful way of governing based on a world view that values autonomy but also recognizes a universal interdependency and promotes peaceful coexistence among all the elements of creation.”⁸⁸ Similarly, Leanne Simpson points out that the foundations of resurgence and regeneration of Indigenous political and intellectual traditions are based within Indigenous languages, teachings, and practices, all of which are inextricably related to land. By understanding this relationality between epistemologies, language, life, and land, we see that it is not that land is not valuable in Indigenous worldviews, rather, it is simply not valued for private profit. Which helps explain why Simpson states, “theories of resurgence are transformative and revolutionary.”⁸⁹

What both Alfred and Simpson demonstrate, even when not saying so directly, is the importance of relationship, of understanding oneself as part of an interconnected community. This self-recognition, both individually and collectively, is critical for any decolonial praxis, according to Coulthard, not just for its self-affirming empowerment, but for the alternative it offers to the colonial example of relationships: “Our cultural practices

have much to offer regarding the establishment of relationships within and between peoples and the natural world built on principles of reciprocity and respectful coexistence.”⁹⁰ At a time when we are seeing the dismantling of the already minimal safeguards provided by the Environmental Protection Agency, as well as the creation of laws that allow corporations to pollute without accountability, this is a stark contrast of values.⁹¹ The critical differences in worldviews remind us of what is at stake and what becomes possible by making a paradigm shift. According to Alfred, “It is one of the strongest themes within Native American cultures that the modern colonial state could not only build a framework for coexistence but cure many of its own ills by understanding and respecting traditional Native teachings.”⁹² To fully grasp this difference in worldviews and appreciate what is offered, we must understand the difference in relationship to land.

Coulthard posits that the question of land is not solely a struggle for the material place from which Indigenous peoples have been and continue to be displaced. An understanding of what land means to Indigenous peoples must recognize, “what the land as *system of reciprocal relations and obligations* can teach us about living our lives in relation to one another and the natural world in nondominating and nonexploitative terms.”⁹³ In fact, he locates this “place-based foundation of Indigenous decolonial thought and practice” that he calls “grounded normativity,” in Indigenous longstanding, land-connected practices and the experiential knowledge produced therein.⁹⁴ Simpson, as well, expounds on the significance of land as pedagogy. She offers traditional stories that illustrate how land is “both context and process,” in Michi Saagiig Nishnaabe epistemology.⁹⁵ In contrast to mainstream western pedagogy that is laden with overt authority, coercion, and hyper-individualism, the process of “coming to know” in her traditional story is learner-led and

profoundly spiritual, inspired by the protagonist's curiosity, but layered throughout with lessons and knowledge revealed and reinforced through relationships with the land, animals, herself, and her community.⁹⁶ Both Simpson and Coulthard convey not only a strikingly anti-colonial, anti-capitalist perspective towards land, but they also emphasize the relationship between resurgence and protecting and reclaiming the land: these processes intimately involve each other. Resurgence cannot happen without the knowledge, traditional practices, and spiritual connections with the land, and the land will not be protected or returned without Indigenous resurgence. This example of how to live in respectful relationship to the land offers us an alternative paradigm to the one that suggests land is for private property and personal prosperity. This view also challenges our long-held perspective of Indigenous peoples. The belief that Indigenous peoples were uncivilized must be replaced with the recognition that Indigenous leadership offers a future in which respect for life, instead of accumulation of wealth, would be the guiding principle.

Anishinaabe orator, author, activist, and trained economist Winona LaDuke elaborates on the relationship between place-based Indigenous societies and their understanding of what is sacred. LaDuke points out that Indigenous teachings, as ancient as the people who have lived on the land for millennia, "speak of a set of relationships to all that is around, predicated on respect, recognition of the interdependency of all beings, an understanding of humans' absolute need to be reverent and to manage our behavior, and an understanding that this relationship must be reaffirmed through lifeways and through acknowledgment of the sacred."⁹⁷ She contrasts this relationship of Indigenous people to land and sacred sites with that of the dominant settler colonial society whose relationship

has been one of conquest, utilitarian use, and extraction for wealth and accumulation, whose understanding of sacred is thrown off by the lack of an edifice.⁹⁸ We see examples of this in the four faces of white men caved into the mountainside in Paha Sapa, a sacred site from where Lakota creation stories originate. We also see this in the normalizing of subsidence (the caving in of land) and chemical runoff from copper mining for weapons production, in the removal of mountaintops for coal extraction, in the toxic combination of chemicals pumped into the earth at high pressure in order to fracture shale for oil and gas extraction and the poisoned water that is a byproduct of this process which is also dumped back into the earth because there is no safe place to store it above ground.

LaDuke sees these extractivist practices as an attack on life itself. In particular, she relates these attacks on Mother Earth to attacks on Indigenous women: “We understand that what corporations would do to the Earth is what corporations and armies have done to our women, and we give no consent.”⁹⁹ Her view on the inherent violence and disrespect of women within the colonial worldview is not unique. It is there in Locke’s writings of property where the only reference to the feminine is in relation to nature and animals that man is meant to dominate.¹⁰⁰ Leanne Simpson continues the analysis of the colonial and capitalist view of women and the natural world by contrasting it with Indigenous relationality. “My land is seen as a resource. My relatives in the plant and animal worlds are seen as resources. My culture and knowledge is a resource. My body is a resource and my children are a resource because they are the potential to grow, maintain, and uphold the extraction-assimilation system.”¹⁰¹ Even her vocabulary and language reveal the relationality of all life in her paradigm.

Audra Simpson, Mohawk scholar and educator, furthers this analysis of the attack on Indigenous women by extending and flipping Leanne Simpson's last example. Yes, it is through women that new life comes forth, and it is for this reason that under colonial domination matrilineal descent and property holding were transferred to the patrilineal line.¹⁰² It is for this reason that Indigenous women (and by extension, their children) lost their status if they married non-Indian or nonstatus Indian men.¹⁰³ The attack on Indigenous practices of determining membership by clan and kinship recognition was fueled by a desire for land (fewer Indians meant less land and less resources to be allowed and allocated). But Audra Simpson reminds us that the need to eliminate the Native has been unceasingly and disproportionately borne out on the bodies of Indigenous women because they have been deemed killable, rapeable, and expendable.¹⁰⁴ "Their bodies have *historically* been rendered less valuable because of what they are taken to represent: land, reproduction, Indigenous kinship and governance, an alternative to heteropatriarchal and Victorian rules of descent. As such, they suffer disproportionately to other women. Their lives are shorter, they are poorer, less educated, sicker, raped more frequently, and they 'disappear.'"¹⁰⁵

Reckoning with the misogyny of settler colonialism and demonstrating alternative values is directly addressed in conversations on Indigenous resurgence. Coulthard participates in this aspect of the conversation by drawing attention to the ongoing work of Indigenous scholars and feminists in an attempt to thwart the dominance of male-centered narratives regarding Indigenous experiences. At the same time, he acknowledges, resurgence demands putting an end to behavior "that denigrates, degrades, and devalues the lives and worth of Indigenous women."¹⁰⁶ Another proponent of resurgence, Taiaiake

Alfred also challenges masculine primacy and advocates for a critical analysis of the ways in which colonial, patriarchal views have been internalized within Indigenous communities. Both of these men seem to be aware that their voices may be listened to more readily simply because they are men, and take pains to draw attention to the invaluable work and leadership in this field by Indigenous women. Alfred's analysis and understanding of Indigenous resurgence is often clarified in his books through interviews with Indigenous leaders and scholars; many of those included are women.¹⁰⁷ In another challenge to the constricting ideas of hierarchal and gendered roles that Indigenous societies have internalized over the centuries of colonization, Alfred suggests a reevaluation of what constitutes a warrior. He advocates that the modern concept of a warrior can no longer be designated by gender. Indeed, it must be "articulated instead with the reference to what really counts in our struggles: the qualities and actions of a person, man, or woman, in battle."¹⁰⁸ While this seems to maintain a gender binary, that may be incidental, as Alfred is clearly trying to promote a freer understanding of how people participate in their society's resurgence.

In fact, we might see Alfred's conception of the warrior (as surely as we see ideas of Indigenous resurgence) being embodied in the most recent struggles against colonial aggression in the movements that have been catalyzed by Indigenous women. Perhaps the largest movement in North America embodying and promoting Indigenous resurgence in recent times is Idle No More (INM), which was started by four women in Saskatchewan. In the autumn of 2012, these women, three Native and one of European settler descent, got together because of concerns over an enormous omnibus bill making its way through the Canadian legislature, Bill C-45. The bill not only allowed corporations to extract resources

from land previously reserved for Indigenous peoples, it removed environmental protections from land and waterways, giving free range to the neoliberal agenda of profits before people and the environment.

Advocating education and direct action the four women launched a website, created a hashtag, and began to hold teach-ins. It was an approach that embodied and encouraged individuals to recognize their own power and to collectively combine it in order to follow the laws and principles in which they believed: protecting the land, the water, and all life that shares them. This did not begin as a response to one singular provocation. Bill C-45 was a challenge experienced across Canada, affecting everyone, although targeting Indigenous peoples and lands, particularly. As such, it required the creation and participation of a movement. As with most successful movements, INM's trajectory was bottom up. It was also a movement that recognized the importance of traditional values and responsibilities, ceremonies, and prayer; one that recognized that women were intimately connected with the protection and perpetuation of life.¹⁰⁹ It was through round dances, teach-ins, and non-violent direct action by growing numbers of people, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, that INM inspired first Indigenous leadership and, eventually, the state to respond. The actions of INM challenged the pervasive view that industrial pursuit of resources (capitalism) was more important than recognizing treaties with First Nations as the law of the land. They asserted that climate change was related to colonial expansion and pursuit of profit. They reminded people, Native and non-Native alike, of the existence of an alternative paradigm: of living in harmony with the land, water, and all living creatures; of respecting life in all of its forms; of remembering and acting

upon the responsibility to the next seven generations. Perhaps most importantly, they showed the world the power and wisdom of Indigenous leadership.

The influence of INM should not be underestimated. Its effects are far reaching because of the example that it set, the consciousness it raised, the pride it restored, and the organization that it inspired. We can see its influence, as well as ideas of Indigenous resurgence, in the movement to resist DAPL. Standing Rock Sioux Tribal Chairman Dave Archambault, II, in a talk at Columbia University, spoke of his return to traditional practices and ceremonies, of seeking advice from elders, and of spending days in prayer as he contemplated how to move forward in the face of this renewed colonial threat of elimination.¹¹⁰ Although many tribal members approached him to tell him they were ready to die for this struggle, Archambault recounted that after days of prayers and ceremony, he learned to reply, "I don't want you to die. I want you to come to me and tell me that you are ready to live: tell me that you want to be a good father, that you want to be a good uncle, a good nephew...we need to stop saying you are ready to die. We need to change this from war into peace into prayer."¹¹¹ In a rejection of the colonial paradigm of a fight to the death for domination over land and peoples, Archambault recognized that in his leadership role as Tribal Chairman, he needed to focus on and be guided by traditional values of relationship, respect for the land, and respect for the sacred. He understood the necessity for Indigenous people to provide a powerful example to their people of how *to live*.

Chapter 3

The Standing Rock Sioux and the Struggle of our Time

“I used to tell people when I was young, they would say, ‘And what do you Indians want?’ ‘The right to be left alone to live.’ Now I don’t see that as an option. Now we must do our best to live and show the rest of the world how to live.” – LaDonna Brave Bull Allard.¹¹²

The goal of this thesis is both to show that the struggle at Standing Rock is firmly rooted within the history of settler colonialism in the US and the long-standing Indigenous resistance to it, and to suggest that this struggle, itself, may be so strong, with such broad support, that it disrupts the dominant paradigm within which it was born. By enhancing the historical record and highlighting contrasting values of land and life, the previous two chapters have sought to lay the groundwork for comprehending today’s resistance by the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe (SRST) to the Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL). But why do the actions in North Dakota matter? Why should we care if oil flows through this pipeline? What possible significance to the rest of the country, let alone the world, could all those people who camped on the plains really have? This chapter will answer those questions and others, while posing a few critical queries.

It is my contention that the struggle at Standing Rock represents much more than an example of Indigenous peoples’ latest fight for survival against policies that are based on their continued elimination from their land, although it is certainly that, too. I argue that the struggle at Standing Rock has garnered so much support from such diverse communities because it is a struggle that resonates widely. By drawing attention to policies that prioritize the rights and profits of corporations over the risks they pose to people, by resisting those policies in a nonviolent, prayerful manner that invites others to recognize and demonstrate the power of their own convictions, the Standing Rock Sioux have built a

movement. They have opened eyes and we can see the paradigm shifting. This chapter will examine Standing Rock's resistance to DAPL, grounded in Indigenous resurgence and led by women and youth, and explore why the values they promote have resonated across the country. The underlying struggle of DAPL is ongoing despite the progress of the pipeline itself. Because this struggle continues, because more and more people are recognizing that they share an interest in, a responsibility for, and the consequences of this pipeline and these policies, I argue that this is an example of a struggle of our time. The Standing Rock Sioux have shown us that the outcome of this struggle will not only affect us all but will also be affected by all of our participation.

We saw in Chapter One how the dispositions of settler colonialism were tied to American economic development. DAPL is tied to current neoliberal policies that advocate the extraction of resources, the deregulation of environmental standards, and the pursuit of corporate profit, often portrayed as "energy independence" or "national security," over the interests of communities, landowners, and concerned citizens who find these practices detrimental to their health and safety, as well as that of the environment. Its current, rerouted path is the result of continuing settler colonial attempts to erase Indigenous Americans. Starting in 2000, the practice of hydraulic fracturing (fracking) turned the Bakken oil fields in northwestern North Dakota into one of the largest oil producing regions in the US. By 2007, the SRST could see the economic influx for those willing to do business with oil companies, yet they took a position of no fracking, no oil exploration, and no oil transport across their treaty land.¹¹³ This might be surprising given that the poverty level at Standing Rock is three times as high as the national average, and more than 41% of the population lives below the poverty line.¹¹⁴ Yet the SRST have consistently chosen to

honor their traditions, their culture, and their sacred sites over the economic potential of capitalist exploitation of “resources.” We saw this when the Sioux refused to sell the sacred land that we call the Black Hills. This was reinforced by their more than 100-year battle to win recognition of the US theft. It remains true as the Sioux, some of the economically poorest people in this country, refuse to touch one penny of the now more than \$1.3 billion dollars that has accrued in a settlement that acknowledged the theft but denied their demand for return of the sacred site.¹¹⁵

We should also note that the position of the SRST against oil exploration, drilling, and transport is not one that is universally shared by Indigenous governments or people. Much of the oil set to come through DAPL is fracked on reservation land, specifically the Fort Berthold Reservation of the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara Nations, where Indigenous people own one of the oil companies.¹¹⁶ It should be clear from the earlier chapters that reservations in this country are some of the poorest communities with the bleakest economic outlook. Some have welcomed the opportunity to alleviate their poverty, even at the risk of environmental damage, hoping they can extract and ship the oil “safely.”¹¹⁷ Others, like the SRST, have determined the risks unacceptable to the environment as well as the community, with documented spikes in crime, corruption, drug addiction and human trafficking that have accompanied the massive influx of oil workers.¹¹⁸ Even within the opposition to DAPL, there are many voices, not all of which always agree. It is all the more significant that differing perspectives could come together in sustained resistance.

The SRST sent its first letter of concern about the rerouted pipeline to the US Army Corps of Engineers (USACE) in February of 2015. For over a year they tried through court proceedings and communications with USACE to assert their treaty rights as well as insist

that federal government agencies uphold their responsibilities as codified through law and successive court rulings.¹¹⁹ From a legal point of view there are numerous troubling aspects to this case including the absence of a full Environmental Impact Statement, which one might be excused for incorrectly thinking a 1,172 mile long pipeline that crosses more than 200 waterways would automatically trigger. Also alarming were the multiple uses of Nationwide Permit No.12, a kind of “fast-tracking” for construction, which not only exempts the project from reviews required by the Clean Water Act and the National Environmental Policy Act, but is also specified for projects that have individual utility, that perform a function independent of the total project.¹²⁰ Most notable of all, however, was the absence of consultation with the SRST, in violation of US law as well as the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People (Articles 8, 10, 11, 18, 19, 26, 32, 37, and 38), which the US officially endorsed in 2010.¹²¹ The illegality and injustice of this lack of consideration, let alone consultation, of the SRST should not be underestimated. It is an example of the continuing settler colonial project of erasure and removal that is structurally supported despite treaties and federal law. While the legal path to stop DAPL is well documented, albeit with limited success, it was not Standing Rock’s legal response that caught the world’s gaze.¹²² Rather, the actions, prayers, and ceremonies that started with the youth and the women of Standing Rock, the resistance that was seen on the ground and in the camps, are what filtered out and inspired a movement. Those actions were a response to the threat they saw to the Missouri and Cannonball Rivers, to water, and to life.

Water has been the main focal point of this resistance, and not incidentally a significant reason the original route north of Bismarck was denied. The Sioux, like many Indigenous peoples, believe that everything that has a spirit is alive, that water, itself, is

alive.¹²³ According to their teachings it is a sacred responsibility for humans to respect all life, to recognize the interconnectedness of living beings, and to take seriously their role in ensuring balance and harmony among all life forms for future generations. It is this understanding that informs the rallying cry, “Mni Wiconi: Water is Life.” Water is something that is perceived in many Indigenous cultures as having a female essence and accordingly it is the role of women to take care of the water, itself, as well as the community’s needs around water. The settler colonial paradigm has consistently underestimated and diminished the roles and power of Indigenous women, and Indigenous women have just as consistently rejected that assessment. This is demonstrated in their leadership as they defend their communities, protect their natural environment, and speak up about the risks to water, all of which have been recently visible in the Idle No More movement. At Standing Rock, LaDonna Allard started the first prayer camp on her land overlooking the Cannonball River near where it meets the Missouri River.

When Allard learned of the reroute of the pipeline, as well as the complicity of the US Army Corps of Engineers (USACE), she was not surprised, but she was nonetheless dismayed. As the Standing Rock Tribal historian and genealogist, as well as someone who lived through the inundation of over 200,000 acres of land and the removal of whole communities with the Pick-Sloan Plan, Allard knew that this time there was nowhere left to go. As she told Dakota Access, if she had to stand alone she would stand against this pipeline.¹²⁴ For her, this was deeply personal: “This is not about trying to be a protester. I am a mother. My son is buried at the top of that hill. I can’t let them build a pipeline by my son’s grave.”¹²⁵ Allard did not have to stand alone. Believing in the power of prayer and the power of her ancestors’ resistance, she decided to pray, and to invite others to come and

pray with her. On April 1 she started the Camp of the Sacred Stones, named after the perfectly round stones that were once formed at the confluence of the Cannonball and Missouri Rivers before the dams were built that forever changed the shape and flow of the rivers. The Sacred Stones Camp quickly outgrew Allard's land as women, in particular, and Indigenous peoples from all over the country came to Standing Rock to stand in peaceful, prayerful protest with the water protectors, as they chose to be called.

For many water protectors, the connections were inseparable between respecting women, respecting the earth, and respecting the water.¹²⁶ Some of the women pointed to the violence towards Mother Earth and policies of extraction that are mirrored in the domestic and sexual violence towards women in society at large. As Indigenous women, many felt they had a responsibility to come to defend the water, as well as to honor their relatives, the grandmothers who came before them, and the children not yet born.¹²⁷ Others felt it was past time for a paradigm shift: they came to defend the rights of sovereign nations; they came to call for an end to environmental racism; they came to call for an end to the targeting of their homelands, their children, their language and their culture; they came to show pride in their heritage for themselves and for their relatives who have so long been caricatured and stereotyped.¹²⁸ They came to give body and voice to the teachings and beliefs of their ancestors.

Another way to see it is that they came to heal: their own selves, Mother Earth, and their communities. As we learned with Indigenous resurgence, many believe that healing from the cumulative damages of settler colonial aggression and attempted elimination is directly related to returning to traditional practices and knowledge, participating in ceremonies, honoring their ancestors, and respecting the sacred. Similar to what the

Indians of All Tribes tried to set up on Alcatraz, the protectors at Standing Rock set up a school to teach Lakota languages and other subjects, multiple kitchens, a long house, riding competitions and lessons in horsemanship, a fully staffed volunteer-run clinic and a space just for women in which women's health was supported by trained, Indigenous midwives.¹²⁹ In many traditions, women are the backbone of communities, so their health and spiritual connections to their families and communities affect everyone's health. The midwives reinforced the comments of other women at the camps by making the connections between violence toward women, violence toward Mother Earth, and capitalist disregard for the environment. In addition, they suggested that healing women's bodies and healing the earth were essential, decolonizing steps towards a return to respecting women's roles and power within Indigenous societies.¹³⁰

There are numerous stories of those who found purpose and healing when they arrived at Standing Rock.¹³¹ For Frank Archambault, a former meth addict who came to the camp from a small community on the South Dakota side of the Standing Rock Reservation, it was an awakening. "Something I've been struggling with my whole life is doing something to be proud of."¹³² Coming from a community with no jobs but more than its share of alcohol and drugs, Archambault brought his children and grandchild to the camp.¹³³ Lauren Howland told a similar story, perhaps more startling because of her age. Bringing to life the grim reality for many Native youth, Howland related how she, like many she knew on the reservation in New Mexico, started drinking before her teen years, despite the warnings from tribal elders to stay away from drugs and alcohol and get back to prayer.¹³⁴ A self-identified recovering alcoholic at the age of 21, she conveyed the impact of embodied pedagogy: "It wasn't until I came here that I realized it's a powerful thing to learn

your traditions and ways. We do everything in prayer. This morning I woke up in prayer. You wake up and you smudge and you pray. At home, I would wake up and open a bottle and drink.”¹³⁵ The personal stories of healing, inspiration, and reclamation are as intense as they are abundant. For many Indigenous people, Standing Rock offered an opportunity to begin to heal the ruptures inflicted upon their communities through centuries of colonial policies, to learn from their elders, to be inspired by the youth, to stand up, together, against the latest attack on Indigenous sovereignty, identity, and existence, and to fulfill their responsibility to protect life. Being there offered a purpose and a sense of pride.

For the youth who helped organize the resistance to DAPL, the process was both empowering and inspiring. Although many youth are aware of the prophecy shared in some form across Indigenous nations that the seventh generation will face a terrible challenge and rise up to lead the fight against it, the stark reality of reservation life and the terrible challenges it reveals do not offer an obvious path to salvation. To be clear, statistics tell us that although Native youth are only 1% of the national youth population they constitute 70% of the youth committed to the Federal Bureau of Prisons.¹³⁶ The rate of Indigenous youth suicide is more than double the national average despite the fact that the CDC found Native deaths to be 30% underreported.¹³⁷ While there certainly exists enough evidence to argue that the despair, alcohol and drug abuse, poverty, and lack of opportunities resulting from over a century of targeted assimilation policies provides a staggering challenge to the continued existence of all Native American peoples, many of the youth saw the pipeline as the greater threat.¹³⁸

On the Standing Rock Reservation, the youth started organizing to raise awareness of the rerouted pipeline and the threat it posed to the life of the water, and by extension,

the life of the community. Their initial action was a run through the various communities on their reservation, stopping to talk with community members about their cause. In late April, Native youths organized a larger group of young people to run from Cannonball, ND to Omaha, NE. In what was called a “spiritual relay” both Native and non-Native runners took turns on the 500-mile journey that delivered a petition for a full Environmental Impact Statement to the district office of the Army Corps of Engineers.¹³⁹ Youth of all ages participated in the runs and other awareness-building actions: more than 450,000 people signed a petition on change.org that was written by a thirteen year old girl and a couple of her friends.¹⁴⁰ With the success of the Omaha run, the youth organized a run to Washington DC to deliver a petition to the USACE and publicly express why the pipeline must be stopped.¹⁴¹ In an embodiment of the teachings from their elders, these young people started every day with a prayer circle, and when they finished for the day they ended with a prayer circle as well.

Another prophecy passed down from their elders that inspired the youth to action was the prophecy of the black snake. When speaking at Columbia University in October, 2016, SRST Chairman Dave Archambault, II, recounted that the Lakota believe when the zuzeca sape, the black snake, crosses their land, their world will end.¹⁴² It is remarkable and telling that a people who have survived under relentless siege in one form or another for over two hundred years see the prospect of a crude oil pipeline through their land and next to their water as the likely source of the end of their world. This prophecy was made before the uses and the existence of carbon-based oil were discovered, yet the black snake is an entirely understandable description for such an unimaginable threat; it also embodies a danger that threatens more than the Sioux. At the Oceti Sakowin camp, the largest of the

camps along the river, some of the young horse riders who arrived early in the uprising discussed the teachings of their elders, the prophecy of the seventh generation and the threat of the black snake. According to Brandon Iron Hawk, “They were calling us, warning us about something. We’re gonna be standing for our people and protecting our sacred land and water. We all came here for a reason.”¹⁴³

Many people did go to North Dakota. As the camps swelled with thousands of Indigenous water protectors and their allies from across the US, Tribal governments sent proclamations and letters to Standing Rock, as well as to the President, and the USACE, in answer to Tribal Chairman Archambault’s request for written support. It is in these responses that we hear their worldview loud and clear: in the shared cultural and spiritual beliefs that it is the responsibility of Indigenous people to care for their sacred sites, as well as the land and the water that sustain all life, including the generations yet to come. We hear of their shared historical experiences of disappearance, displacement, and devastation, of innumerable treaties broken by the US government. Yet we also hear of a common struggle uniting Indigenous peoples, especially *today*, on the frontlines of multinational-sponsored, resource-extractive industries that are pillaging the lands and waters on or abutting treaty lands without the requisite Federal legal protections. As Wendsler Nosie, Sr. of the Apache Stronghold wrote: “Our Mother is threatened. It is our legal, moral, and spiritual duty – our right – to protect Her from destruction, from irreparable damage at the hands of Companies like Dakota Access Pipeline and Resolution Copper. Not just for us, but for all Americans...and for those yet to be born.”¹⁴⁴ The Navajo Nation acknowledged that the fight at Standing Rock is one many Indigenous nations, including the Navajo, face on their own tribal lands, adding, “We will be heard because we

are one, not as a tribal nation but as one Native people.”¹⁴⁵ Similar sentiments were expressed in other letters of solidarity, with the Yavapai-Apache Nation going further to recognize not just the shared struggle, but the momentous impact of *this* resistance and its significance in a conflict over worldviews:

Your struggle is the struggle of all Indian people in the face of a culture that elevates economic gain above all else and refuses to see the importance of the sacred in the lives of Indian people. Your fight has rekindled a pride throughout Indian Country and has reminded all of us that we must continue to be the guardians and protectors of the land and water that gave our ancestors life, and that will, if protected, continue to sustain the lives of our children for countless generations to come.¹⁴⁶

It was not only Indigenous nations that responded to Chairman Archambault’s request. Cities from Seattle to St Paul, from Mobridge to Minneapolis, even the New York City Council, all delivered proclamations to the SRST.¹⁴⁷ By recognizing that their cities have been founded on Indigenous land, that their populations are significantly impacted by the contribution of tribal members, and that Indigenous communities are those on the front lines of environmental challenges not of their making, these proclamations are significant. They acknowledge their constituents’ concern about these matters, for such a proclamation would never be issued without a groundswell of local support, and by doing so demonstrate the substantial number of people who also believe that this fight implicates and impacts them. Many cities encouraged their residents, in the words of the city council of Minneapolis, “to raise awareness about this important struggle for Indigenous Sovereignty and environmental justice and to support the Sacred Stones Camp efforts in any way they can.”¹⁴⁸

In addition to Indigenous nations and municipal councils across the country, political, religious, and environmental organizations, as well as progressive labor

affiliations, sent proclamations and whatever else they could to the camps: representatives, supplies, financial support.¹⁴⁹ Their reasons were as varied as the organizations they represented; yet, aware of each other and aware of their differences, they came together at the camps at Standing Rock because this was a struggle that concerned them. For many religious organizations this was an act of unity to support those in peaceful, prayerful protest because they see the protection of the earth as the protection of God's creation, and conversely understand "that when you desecrate creation, you dishonor the Creator."¹⁵⁰ For members of the Nation of Islam, it was equally important to stand up for treaty rights and the interconnectedness of all peoples. As Rizza Islam, a member of the Nation of Islam who made the trip from Los Angeles, noted, "This is our brown family, and we're all connected. The hypocrisy has to stop somewhere in this country. We have to stop violating treaties."¹⁵¹ Adding, "we always protect our red family. This is exactly why we're here."¹⁵²

For environmental organizations the SRST's resistance highlighted many aspects of a struggle they feel is critical to everyone. One aspect was the understanding that the US, as one of the richest nations in the world, must stop building infrastructure for fossil fuel based energy sources and instead must pursue and develop alternative, sustainable energy as a means to prevent a global temperature rise of 2 degrees Celsius, the widely accepted international target considered by most scientists to be the tipping point of catastrophic climate change.¹⁵³ Environmental groups are also some of the loudest voices raised against the poisoning of water from the chemicals used in fracking, from oil and gas pipeline breaks, and by contamination from waste created in extractive practices (mining, mountain top removal) as well as unsafe nuclear storage facilities. In recent years, perhaps most notably demonstrated at the People's Climate March in 2014, many mainstream

environmental organizations, who are seen to have a mostly white and middle class base of support, have come to realize that those who are on the front lines of man-made disasters, waste sites, and points of extraction, are the Native peoples of this country. Indigenous leadership in this fight, as these organizations are beginning to recognize, has been enormous, uncompromising, and predates any organization in existence. When these better-resourced organizations joined with the frontline defenders at Standing Rock they brought more exposure to this fight, helped to raise awareness of a grievous history of injustice, and acknowledged that Indigenous peoples are leading the way in our shared fight to save life on this planet.

The fight against historic injustice is a struggle that Black Lives Matter knows well, and supporting the resistance at Standing Rock was a natural continuation of their mission for liberation. It is part of their political analysis to make the connections between capitalism and environmental degradation, to underline why this is a movement for all of us, and to clearly articulate why we should not look for leadership from the government nor critical reporting in mainstream media when “it is not in the interests of large corporations or the federal government for the world to see Indigenous peoples in America working together to protect the land and water we all need to survive.”¹⁵⁴ Indeed, as BLM points out in a statement they issued in late summer calling for a paradigmatic shift of consciousness, “we do not have to destroy the world and our resources for money to provide for one another. In fact we must do the complete opposite. Scarcity is a myth and if we take care of the Earth, our family that comes after us will be taken care of by the Earth.”¹⁵⁵

The alternative of respect, relationship, and responsibility that an Indigenous worldview offers to the extractive, accumulative, profit driven worldview of dominant American culture clarified for many people the necessity and benefit of a paradigm shift. For others that shift arose from a growing awareness that US treaty violations and maltreatment of Indigenous Americans were not actions or processes confined to our history and that *we* are responsible for what happens today. Over the course of many months, from April to December, the number of protectors and supporters who gathered at the camps in North Dakota, while fluctuating, steadily grew into the thousands. To grasp how enormously significant resistance to a colonial and capitalist worldview was perceived to be, we should look at the response it engendered.

From the beginning of the prayer camps, there was always a police presence near the route of the pipeline. Whether they were disproportionately militarized for the situation—being heavily armed including with armored personnel carriers, facing off against non-violent, unarmed, praying water protectors—is a valid question. On Labor Day weekend when unlicensed, private security guards unleashed dogs on water protectors in a horrific scene reminiscent of civil rights era violence inflicted on peaceful protestors, the Morton County Sheriff's Department, watching from a nearby hill, did nothing to intervene.¹⁵⁶ Clearly their role was to protect the pipeline, not the people. We might legitimately ask if that was an appropriate use of taxpayers' money. Given that ND is seeking reimbursement from the federal government, it may be more than the ND taxpayers supporting this behavior. As the resistance to DAPL persisted, the militarization of the police as well as their violent response to nonviolent direct action increasingly escalated. In late November the police fired water cannons, rubber bullets, pepper spray,

and concussion grenades at water protectors in subfreezing temperatures, with devastating consequences.¹⁵⁷ This incommensurate, extremely violent response to a significantly under-resourced adversary has been a pattern of settler colonial America, particularly towards Native Americans, particularly when it has felt its economic pursuits were resisted or threatened.

In his article “Fugitive Decolonization,” Manu Vimalassery discusses Harriet Tubman’s “liberationist practice” and what it might teach us about current struggles to decolonize North America.¹⁵⁸ Describing Tubman as having a practice of “proliferating kinship,” Vimalassery suggests that in order to emancipate herself, Tubman emancipated others: family, parents, neighbors, as well as people she had never met.¹⁵⁹ This is reminiscent of the value and interconnectedness that Indigenous peoples place on all life forms. In particular, I am reminded of LaDonna Allard’s quotation that opens this chapter, and the invitation to all peoples to support the resistance to DAPL and to recognize this struggle as our own. It is no longer enough for Indigenous people to ask to be left alone to live; the fate of humanity as the global temperature reaches an irreversible height, as water and life are put at greater risk for profit, means our lives and our struggles are inextricably linked. The settler state seems to know this, too. Vimalassery suggests that Tubman’s escape from slavery coupled with her commitment to return again and again to free others was an unmasking of the “reactive fragility of US sovereignty, so carefully constructed through decades of precedents in assault on life and land.”¹⁶⁰ This leads me to ask if the resistance to DAPL, with its blunt, unwavering rejection of the colonial worldview, even after centuries of assault, is also, once again, still unmasking the vulnerability of US colonial domination. The ferocity of the response may be an indication.

Conclusion

As of this writing, oil is not yet flowing through the Dakota Access Pipeline. While the construction of DAPL has been completed, the resistance movement that rose in response to it continues to grow and spread.

When it became clear that the resistance to DAPL was reverberating widely, many of the voices of leadership, the women, the youth, organizers from Indigenous Environmental Network and from Honor the Earth, reminded supporters that the struggle against DAPL was actually happening much closer to home for most of the them. If they could not get to North Dakota they should look to the Indigenous people near them to find out how to support them in their struggles: the policies that allow DAPL to be built in the manner it has been are also enabling pipelines, drilling, mining, and waste disposal across this country, often on or abutting Indigenous land.

These voices of leadership also called on their supporters in the resistance to DAPL to divest from the big banks that financed the pipeline and to put their money in credit unions, where possible, as credit unions are committed to re-investing locally. Of course, they understood such a strategy, while sending a powerful message when multiplied by thousands of individuals, was limited in its financial impact. Which is why they called on cities, through their residents' vocal support, to show that they share in this struggle by divesting municipal bank accounts or pension funds from banks whose global capital supports DAPL. Clearly people across this country believe this fight is theirs, too, as they encouraged their local officials to pull financial support. As of this writing, cities including Seattle, San Francisco, Minneapolis, Davis, Santa Monica, and Alameda have affirmed their

intentions to sever their financial ties. Seattle and San Francisco alone account for a \$4 billion divestment.¹⁶¹ Even New York City's mayor has expressed interest in the idea.¹⁶²

Although the specifics of Standing Rock's fight are unique, the struggle, itself, is not. This is the continuation of a struggle that began with America, with the attempted erasure of Indigenous peoples in order to profit from the land. The consequences today, however, extend far beyond America's borders, with no place on earth immune from catastrophic climate change. This is a struggle with consequences for all of us. Will we continue supporting the same value systems, or will we recognize we are running out of time to make a change?

In an address that he gave in 1960, James Baldwin said, "A country is only as strong as the people who make it up and the country turns into what the people want it to become. Now, this country is going to be transformed. It will not be transformed by an act of God, but by all of us, by you and me. I don't believe any longer that we can afford to say that it is entirely out of our hands. We made the world we're living in and we have to make it over."¹⁶³ Baldwin reminds us that we cannot avoid the responsibility we bear for the country or society in which we live. The Standing Rock movement reminds us that, together, we are powerful.

Notes

¹ Amy Dalrymple, "Pipeline Route Plan First Called for Crossing North of Bismarck," Forum News Service, *Bismarck Tribune*, August 18, 2016, http://bismarcktribune.com/news/state-and-regional/pipeline-route-plan-first-called-for-crossing-north-of-bismarck/article_64d053e4-8a1a-5198-a1dd-498d386c933c.html

² Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, "Supplemental Comments of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe on Dakota Access Pipeline," letter to US Army Corps of Engineers, March 24, 2016. <https://www.facebook.com/402298239798452/photos/a.1224940690867532.1073741827.402298239798452/1224940700867531/?type=3> (last accessed December 15, 2016).

³ United States v. Mitchell, 463 U.S. 206 (1983), 225. Retrieved from <https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/463/206/case.html> (last accessed December 15, 2016), see also SRST "Supplemental Comments," in letter to USACE.

⁴ Jo Miles and Hugh MacMillan. "Who's Banking on the Dakota Access Pipeline?" *Food and Water Watch*, September 6, 2016 <http://www.foodandwaterwatch.org/news/who%27s-banking-dakota-access-pipeline>

⁵ Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, "Stand With Standing Rock Supporters," <http://standwithstandingrock.net/supporters/?support=organizational> (last accessed March 31, 2017).

⁶ Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no4 (2006).

⁷ Alyosha Goldstein, "Introduction: Toward a Genealogy of the US Colonial Present," in *Formations of United States Colonialism*, ed. Alyosha Goldstein (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014): 9.

⁸ Manu Vimalassery, "Fugitive Decolonization," *Theory & Event* 19, no. 4 (2016). <https://muse.jhu.edu/> (accessed February 15, 2017).

⁹ Mahmood Mamdani, "Settler Colonialism: Then and Now," *Critical Inquiry* 41, (Spring 2015): 1.

¹⁰ Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (December 2006), 389.

¹¹ Oceti Sakowin Camp, "Oceti Sakowin Camp: Seven Council Fires, History," <http://www.ocetisakowincamp.org/history> (last accessed November 12, 2016).

¹² Standing Rock Sioux Tribe. "History." *Standing Rock Sioux*, <http://standingrock.org/history/> (last accessed November 30, 2016).

¹³ Edward Lazarus, *Black Hills White Justice The Sioux Nation versus the United States, 1775 to the Present* (New York: Harper Collins, 1991), 4-8. See also Northern Plains Reservation Aid, "Reservations North Dakota: Standing Rock," *American Indian Relief Council/Northern Plains Reservation Aid*,
http://www.nrcprograms.org/site/PageServer?pagename=airc_res_nd_standingrock.

¹⁴ There are numerous Indigenous drone operators who were able to provide aerial video footage of protests, police reactions, and real time live streams from the camps in North Dakota. See Shiyé Bidzíl,
<https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100008607349> also,
<https://www.facebook.com/drone2bwild/> see also Myron Dewey
<https://www.facebook.com/DigitalSmokeSignals/>.

¹⁵ Patrick Wolfe, in conversation with J. Kehaulani Kauanui, "Settler Colonialism Then and Now," *Politica & Societa* 2, (2012): 246-8.

¹⁶ Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," 388; see also. J. Kehaulani Kauanui and Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism Then and Now," *Politica & Societa* 2, (2012): 249-50.

¹⁷ Alyosha Goldstein, "Toward a Genealogy of the U.S. Colonial Present," in *Formations of United States Colonialism*, ed. Alyosha Goldstein (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 9.

¹⁸ Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," 388.

¹⁹ John Locke, "Of Property," in *Second Treatise of Government* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1980, originally published 1690), 18.

²⁰ Locke, "Of Property," 22.

²¹ Locke, "Of Property," 26.

²² As a non-Native writing about my understanding of Indigenous worldviews and cosmologies, it is important for me to state clearly that my knowledge of this subject matter is from Indigenous scholars and activists. The foundation of this area of my work is from publically available, published articles and books by the referenced authors. Any errors in representation or understanding, like everywhere else in this thesis, are entirely my own.

²³ Leanne Simpson, in conversation with Naomi Kein, "Dancing the World into Being: A conversation with Idle No More's Leanne Simpson," *Yes! Magazine*, March 5, 2013, <http://www.yesmagazine.org/peace-justice/dancing-the-world-into-being-a-conversation-with-idle-no-more-leanne-simpson> (last access 20 february 2017).

²⁴ Rebecca Tsosie, "Native Women and Leadership: An Ethics of Culture and Relationships," in *Indigenous Women and Feminism: Politics Activism, Culture*, eds. Cheryl Suzack, Shari M. Huhndorf, Jeannie Perreault, and Jean Barman (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010): 32.

²⁵ Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," 388; the actual quotation is, "Settler colonialism destroys to replace."

²⁶ Edward Lazarus, *Black Hills/White Justice The Sioux Nation versus the United States, 1775 to the Present* (New York: Harper Collins, 1991), 13.

²⁷ 1851 Treaty of Fort Laramie, Article 7. Retrieved from <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/kappler/Vol2/treaties/sio0594.htm>

²⁸ Lazarus, *Black Hills/White Justice*, 25.

²⁹ Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2014), 136.

³⁰ Dunbar-Ortiz, *Indigenous Peoples' History*, 136.

³¹ Lazarus, *Black Hills/White Justice*, 28.

³² Dunbar-Ortiz, *Indigenous Peoples' History*, 133-46. See also Ned Blackhawk, "Remember the Sand Creek Massacre," *The New York Times*, November 27, 2014, <https://www.nytimes.com/2014/11/28/opinion/remember-the-sand-creek-massacre.html?r=0> See also Boyd Cothran and Ari Kelman, "How the Civil War Became the Indian Wars," *The New York Times*, May 25, 2015, <http://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2015/05/25/how-the-civil-war-became-the-indian-wars/>

³³ Dunbar-Ortiz, *Indigenous Peoples' History*, 136-7.

³⁴ LaDonna Bravebull Allard interviewed by Amy Goodman on *Democracy Now!*, September 8, 2016, https://www.democracynow.org/2016/9/8/standing_rock_sioux_historian_dakota_access see also "Why the Founder of Standing Rock Sioux Camp Can't Forget the Whitestone Massacre," *Yes! Magazine*, September 3, 2016. <http://www.yesmagazine.org/people-power/why-the-founder-of-standing-rock-sioux-camp-cant-forget-the-whitestone-massacre-20160903>

³⁵ Allard, interviewed by Goodman on *Democracy Now!*, September 6, 2016.

³⁶ State Historical Society of North Dakota, "The History and Culture of the Standing Rock Oyate," *North Dakota Studies Project*, <http://www.ndstudies.org/resources/IndianStudies/standingrock/whitestone.html>

³⁷ State Historical Society of North Dakota, "The History and Culture of the Standing Rock Oyate," *North Dakota Studies Project*.

³⁸ Allard interviewed by Goodman in *Democracy Now!*, September 3, 2016 see also "The History and Culture of the Standing Rock Oyate," *North Dakota Studies Project* at the State Historical Society of North Dakota, <http://www.ndstudies.org/resources/IndianStudies/standingrock/whitestone.html>

³⁹ The Sand Creek Massacre, in particular, was noted for this appalling disrespect and dehumanization by mutilation and trophy taking. Please see Blackhawk, "Remember the Sand Creek Massacre," *The New York Times*, November 27, 2014. See also Tony Horwitz, "The Horrific Sand Creek Massacre will be Forgotten No More," *Smithsonian Magazine*, December 2014, <http://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/horrific-sand-creek-massacre-will-be-forgotten-no-more-180953403/>

⁴⁰ Dunbar-Ortiz, *Indigenous Peoples' History*, 140-1.

⁴¹ Blake Bell, "America's Invitation to the World: Was the Homestead Act the First Accommodating Immigration Legislation in the United States?" *National Parks Service*, <https://www.nps.gov/home/learn/historyculture/upload/Immigration-White-Paper.pdf> (last accessed February 20, 2016).

⁴² Dunbar-Ortiz, *Indigenous Peoples' History*, 141.

⁴³ Dunbar-Ortiz, *Indigenous Peoples' History*, 141.

⁴⁴ Dunbar-Ortiz, *Indigenous Peoples' History*, 141.

⁴⁵ Fort Laramie Treaty, Article II, April 29, 1868. Retrieved from http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/nt001.asp

⁴⁶ Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, "Comprehensive Economic Development Plan, 2013-2017," 22-23. See also State Historical Society of North Dakota, "The History and Culture of the Standing Rock Oyate," *North Dakota Studies Project*, http://www.ndstudies.org/resources/IndianStudies/standingrock/historical_gs_reservation.html

⁴⁷ State Historical Society of North Dakota, "The History and Culture of the Standing Rock Oyate," *North Dakota Studies Project* at the State Historical Society of North Dakota.

⁴⁸ State Historical Society of North Dakota, "History and Culture of Standing Rock."

⁴⁹ Fort Laramie Treaty, Article II, April 29, 1868. Retrieved from http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/nt001.asp

⁵⁰ State Historical Society of North Dakota, "The History and Culture of the Standing Rock Oyate: The Taking of the Black Hills," *North Dakota Studies Project*, http://www.ndstudies.org/resources/IndianStudies/standingrock/historical_blackhills.html Henry Whipple the government agent unsuccessful in persuading the Sioux to sell the Black Hills called it a "shameful violation of (the US') oath." The BIA annual report from 1876 suggested the country would "forever bear the disgrace and suffer the retribution of its wrongdoing."

⁵¹ Vine Deloria, Junior, *Custer Died For Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988, New York, 1969) 45-46.

⁵² Lazarus, *Black Hills/White Justice*, 110.

⁵³ Lazarus, *Black Hills/White Justice*, 109.

⁵⁴ State Historical Society of North Dakota, "The History and Culture of the Standing Rock Oyate: Courts of Indian Offenses," *North Dakota Studies*, http://www.ndstudies.org/resources/IndianStudies/standingrock/docs_courts.html

⁵⁵ State Historical Society of North Dakota, "Courts of Indian Offenses."

⁵⁶ State Historical Society of North Dakota, "Courts of Indian Offenses."

⁵⁷ "Capt. Richard H. Pratt on the Education of Native Americans," *History Matters: the US Survey Course on the Web*, <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/4929/>

⁵⁸ William H. Pratt, in a paper given at the *Nineteenth Annual Conference of Charities and Correction (1892)*, accessed from <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/4929/>

⁵⁹ Michael L. Lawson, *Dammed Indians Revisited: The Continuing History of the Pick Sloan Plan and the Missouri River Sioux* (Pierre: South Dakota State Historical Society Press, 2009), 30.

⁶⁰ Vine Deloria, Junior, in the Introduction to *The Indian Reorganization Act: Congresses and Bills*, ed. Vine Deloria, Junior (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), vii-xvi.

⁶¹ Dunbar-Ortiz, *Indigenous Peoples' History*, 190.

⁶² Vine Deloria, Junior, in the Introduction to *The Indian Reorganization Act: Congresses and Bills*, ed. Vine Deloria, Junior (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), viii.

⁶³ Lawson, *Dammed Indians Revisited*. The planning, the consultation, and the execution of the PSP are covered extensively herein. Especially relevant to this point see 41-3, 162-164.

⁶⁴ Lawson, *Dammed Indians Revisited*, 47-48.

⁶⁵ Lawson, *Dammed Indians Revisited*, 47.

⁶⁶ Lawson, *Dammed Indians Revisited*, 214.

⁶⁷ Lawson, *Dammed Indians Revisited*, 215.

⁶⁸ Michael L. Lawson *Dammed Indians: The Pick-Sloan Plan and the Missouri River Sioux, 1944-1980* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982) and Lawson, *Dammed Indians Revisited*.

⁶⁹ Lawson, *Dammed Indians Revisited*, 53, 163, 167 respectively.

⁷⁰ Lawson, *Dammed Indians Revisited*, 182.

⁷¹ Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2014), xiii.

⁷² Dunbar –Ortiz, *Indigenous Peoples' History*, 153. See also Paul Chaat Smith and Robert Allen Warrior, *Like a Hurricane: The Indian Movement from Alcatraz to Wounded Knee* (New York: The New Press, 1996), 229.

⁷³ Lazarus, *Black Hills/White Justice*, 114.

⁷⁴ Dunbar-Ortiz, *Indigenous Peoples' History*, 154.

⁷⁵ Dunbar-Ortiz, *Indigenous Peoples' History*, 155.

⁷⁶ Patti Jo King, "The truth About the Wounded Knee Massacre: Why was deadly force used at Wounded Knee?" *Indian Country Media Network*, December 30, 2016, <https://indiancountrymedianetwork.com/history/events/the-truth-about-the-wounded-knee-massacre/>

⁷⁷ "History and Culture: Termination Policy 1953-1968," *Northern Plains Reservation Aid*, http://www.nrcprograms.org/site/PageServer?pagename=airc_hist_terminationpolicy From 1953-1964 109 tribes were terminated. Federal responsibilities were turned over to state governments, with approximately 2,500,000 acres of trust land removed from protected status and the lands sold to non-Indians. The tribes lost official recognition from the US government and 12,000 Native Americans lost their tribal affiliation.

⁷⁸ Paul Chaat Smith and Robert Allen Warrior, *Like a Hurricane*, 8-9.

-
- ⁷⁹ Dunbar-Ortiz, *Indigenous Peoples' History*, 183.
- ⁸⁰ Dunbar-Ortiz, *Indigenous Peoples' History*, 184.
- ⁸¹ Smith and Warrior, *Like a Hurricane*, 128-32.
- ⁸² Smith and Warrior, *Like a Hurricane*, 199.
- ⁸³ Dunbar-Ortiz, *Indigenous Peoples' History*, 187.
- ⁸⁴ Smith and Warrior, *Like a Hurricane*, 200.
- ⁸⁵ Smith and Warrior, *Like a Hurricane*, 270-71.
- ⁸⁶ Smith and Warrior, *Like a Hurricane*, 99.
- ⁸⁷ Glen Sean Coulthard, *Red Skin White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014), 179.
- ⁸⁸ Taiaiake Alfred, *Peace, Power, Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2009), 13-14.
- ⁸⁹ Leanne Simpson, *Dancing on our Turtle's Back: Stories of Nishnaabeg Re-Creation, Resurgence and a New Emergence* (Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring Publishing, 2011), 24.
- ⁹⁰ Coulthard, *Red Skins White Masks*, 48.
- ⁹¹ Brady Dennis and Juliet Eilperin, "Trump signs order at the EPA to dismantle environmental protections," *Washington Post*, March 28, 2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/health-science/trump-signs-order-at-the-epa-to-dismantle-environmental-protections/2017/03/28/3ec30240-13e2-11e7-ada0-1489b735b3a3_story.html?utm_term=.10477afe110 see also "ND Lawmakers allow for oil spills up to 10 barrels to go unreported," *Valley News Live*, March 28, 2017, <http://www.valleynewslive.com/content/news/ND-Lawmakers-allow-for-oil-spills-up-to-10-barrels-to-go-unreported-417273153.html>
- ⁹² Alfred, *Peace, Power, Righteousness*, 30.
- ⁹³ Coulthard, *Red Skins White Masks*, 13.
- ⁹⁴ Coulthard, *Red Skins White Masks*, 13.
- ⁹⁵ Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, "Land as Pedagogy: Nishnaabeg Intelligence and Rebellious Transformation," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 3, no. 3 (2014), 7. Simpson is Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg and a member of the Alderville First Nation.

-
- ⁹⁶ Leanne Simpson, "Land as Pedagogy," 7-9.
- ⁹⁷ Winona LaDuke, "In the Time of the Sacred Places," in *The Winona LaDuke Chronicles: Stories from the Front Lines in the Battle for Environmental Justice* (Ponsford, Minnesota: Spotted Horse Press, 2016), 64.
- ⁹⁸ LaDuke, *The Winona LaDuke Chronicles*, 65.
- ⁹⁹ LaDuke, *The Winona LaDuke Chronicles*, 155.
- ¹⁰⁰ Locke, *Second Treatise of Government*, 18-30.
- ¹⁰¹ Simpson, "Dancing the World into Being: A Conversation with Idle No More's Leanne Simpson," by Naomi Klein, *yes! magazine*, March 5, 2013, <http://www.yesmagazine.org/peace-justice/dancing-the-world-into-being-a-conversation-with-idle-no-more-leanne-simpson> (last access 20 February 2017).
- ¹⁰² Audra Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus (Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States)* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 57.
- ¹⁰³ Audra Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus*, 56-7.
- ¹⁰⁴ Audra Simpson, "The State is a Man: Theresa Spence, Loretta Saunders and the Gender of Settler Sovereignty," *Theory & Event* 19, no. 4 (2016). <https://muse.jhu.edu/> (accessed February 14, 2017).
- ¹⁰⁵ Audra Simpson, "The State is a Man."
- ¹⁰⁶ Coulthard, *Red Skins White Masks*, 178.
- ¹⁰⁷ Taiaiake Alfred, *Wasáse Indigenous Pathways of Action and Freedom* (Toronto: Broadview Press, 2005), see also Alfred, *Peace, Power, Righteousness*.
- ¹⁰⁸ Alfred, *Wasáse*, 58.
- ¹⁰⁹ Sarah van Gelder, "Why Canada's Indigenous Uprising is About All of Us," *yes! magazine*, February 7, 2013, <http://www.yesmagazine.org/issues/how-cooperatives-are-driving-the-new-economy/why-canada2019s-indigenous-uprising-is-about-all-of-us> (last accessed March 31, 2017).
- ¹¹⁰ Dave Archambault, II, speaking at *2016 Indigenous Forum*, Center for the Study of Ethnicity and Race at Columbia University, October 26, 2016. <http://www.cser.columbia.edu/idg-forum>
- ¹¹¹ Archambault, *Indigenous Forum*.

¹¹² Standing Rock Sioux tribe, “Mni Wiconi-Water is Life,” accessed November 26, 2016 from https://www.facebook.com/Standing-Rock-Sioux-Tribe-402298239798452/?hc_ref=PAGES_TIMELINE&fref=nf

¹¹³ Dave Archambault, speaking at *2016 Indigenous Forum*, Center for the Study of Ethnicity and Race at Columbia University, October 26, 2016. <http://www.cser.columbia.edu/idg-forum>

¹¹⁴ Northern Plains Reservation Aid, “Reservations: North Dakota, Standing Rock” http://www.nrcprograms.org/site/PageServer?pagename=airc_res_nd_standingrock see also Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, “2013-2017 Comprehensive Economic Development Strategy,” 45, <http://standingrock.org/data/upfiles/files/SRST%20CEDS%20For%20Community%20Review%2012%207%2012.pdf>

¹¹⁵ “For Great Sioux Nation, Black Hill Can’t Be Bought for \$1.3 Billion,” *PBS Newshour*, August 24, 2011, http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/social_issues-july-dec11-blackhills_08-24/

¹¹⁶ Amy Sisk, “While One Tribe Fights Oil, Another Cautiously Embraces It,” *Inside Energy*, November 22, 2016, <http://insideenergy.org/2016/11/22/while-one-tribe-fights-oil-another-cautiously-embraces-it/> (last accessed February 15, 2017).

¹¹⁷ Sisk, “While One Tribe Fights Oil, Another Cautiously Embraces It,” *Inside Energy*.

¹¹⁸ Sarah van Gelder, “In North Dakota’s Booming Oil Patch, One Tribe Beat Back Fracking,” *Yes! Magazine*, January 21, 2016 <http://www.yesmagazine.org/planet/in-north-dakotas-booming-oil-patch-one-tribe-beat-back-fracking-20160121> (last accessed March 3, 2017.)

¹¹⁹ Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, “Supplemental Comments of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe on Dakota Access Pipeline,” letter to US Army Corps of Engineers, March 24, 2016. <https://www.facebook.com/402298239798452/photos/a.1224940690867532.1073741827.402298239798452/1224940700867531/?type=3> (last accessed December 15, 2016). See also *United States v. Mitchell*, 463 U.S. 206 (1983), 225. Retrieved from <https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/463/206/case.html> (last accessed December 15, 2016).

¹²⁰ Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, “Supplemental Comments of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe on Dakota Access Pipeline,” letter to US Army Corps of Engineers, March 24, 2016. Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/402298239798452/photos/a.1224940690867532.1073741827.402298239798452/1224940700867531/?type=3>

¹²¹ United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, resolution adopted by the General Assembly, 107th plenary meeting, September 13, 2007.

¹²² Earthjustice. “The Standing Rock Sioux Tribe’s Litigation on the Dakota Access Pipeline.” <http://earthjustice.org/features/faq-standing-rock-litigation#> (last accessed March 5, 2016).

¹²³ Archambault, *Indegenous Forum*, <http://www.cser.columbia.edu/idg-forum>

¹²⁴ LaDonna Brave Bull Allard, interviewed by Amy Goodman and Juan González, *Democracy Now!*, September 21, 2016, https://www.democracynow.org/2016/9/21/watch_is_this_america_co_founder

¹²⁵ LaDonna Brave Bull Allard, quoted in “North Dakota Protesters Stand their Ground: ‘This is Sacred Land,’” *The Guardian*, August 29, 2016. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/29/north-dakota-oil-pipeline-protest-standing-rock-sioux>

¹²⁶ *Emily Arasim and Osprey Orielle Lake*, “15 Indigenous Women on the Frontlines of the Dakota Access Pipeline Resistance,” *Women's Earth & Climate Action Network*, October 29, 2016. <http://www.ecowatch.com/indigenous-women-dakota-access-pipeline-2069613663.html>

¹²⁷ Arasim and Lake, “Indigenous Women on the Frontlines.”

¹²⁸ Arasim and Lake, “Indigenous Women on the Frontlines.”

¹²⁹ “Midwives at Dakota Access Resistance Camps: We can Decolonize, Respect Women & Mother Earth,” *Democracy Now!*, October 18, 2016, https://www.democracynow.org/2016/10/18/midwives_at_dakota_access_resistance_camps

¹³⁰ “Midwives at Resistance Camps,” *Democracy Now!*.

¹³¹ In his talk at Columbia University’s Indigenous Forum, Chairman Archambault told of the impact of ceremony and prayer on his approach to how the SRST should confront the threat of the pipeline, as well as the experience of others who came to camp and acknowledged its healing impact, <http://www.cser.columbia.edu/idg-forum>

¹³² Frank Archambault, quoted in “‘This is an Awakening’: Native Americans Find New Hope After Standing Rock,” by Julia Carrie Wong, *The Guardian*, December 8, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/dec/08/standing-rock-dakota-pipeline-transformation-stories?utm_source=esp&utm_medium=Email&utm_campaign=GU+Today+USA+-+morning+briefing+2016&utm_term=203308&subid=21022041&CMP=ema_a-morning-briefing_b-morning-briefing_c-US_d-1

¹³³ Wong, “This is an Awakening.”

¹³⁴ Lauren Howland, quoted in “This is an Awakening,” by Wong, *The Guardian*, December 8, 2016.

¹³⁵ Wong, “This is an Awakening.”

¹³⁶ Lakota People’s Law Project, “Native Lives Matter,” 5, February, 2015. Retrieved from <http://www.docs.lakotalaw.org/reports/Native%20Lives%20Matter%20PDF.pdf>

¹³⁷ Caroline Jiang, Andreea Mitran, Arialdi Miniño, and Hanyu Ni, “Racial and Gender Disparities in Suicide Among Young Adults Aged 18–24: United States, 2009–2013,” *National Center for Health Statistics, Center for Disease Control*, September 2015. Retrieved from http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/hestat/suicide/racial_and_gender_2009_2013.pdf

¹³⁸ Sara Horwitz, “The hard Lives – and High Suicide Rate – of Native American Children on Reservations,” *The Washington Post*, March 9, 2014. https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/the-hard-lives--and-high-suicide-rate--of-native-american-children/2014/03/09/6e0ad9b2-9f03-11e3-b8d8-94577ff66b28_story.html?utm_term=.ce34ff913849

¹³⁹ “Running for Their Lives: 500-Mile Youth Spiritual Run Against the Dakota Access Pipeline,” *Indian Country Today Media*, May 2, 2016, <http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/2016/05/02/running-their-lives-500-mile-youth-spiritual-run-against-dakota-access-pipeline-video>

¹⁴⁰ Ana Lee, Bobbi Jean, and the Oceti Sakowin Youth, “Stop the Dakota Access Pipeline,” *change.org*, <https://www.change.org/p/jo-ellen-darcy-stop-the-dakota-access-pipeline>

¹⁴¹ Juliana Britto Schwartz, “Becoming ‘Water Protectors’ Changed Their Lives,” *CNN Opinion*, October 27, 2016, <http://www.cnn.com/2016/10/27/opinions/youth-against-dakota-pipeline-britto-schwartz/>

¹⁴² Archambault, *Indegenous Forum*, <http://www.cser.columbia.edu/idg-forum>

¹⁴³ Brandon Iron Hawk, quoted in “We opened eyes’: at Standing Rock, My Fellow Native Americans Make History,” by Joe Whittle, *The Guardian*, November 30, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/nov/30/standing-rock-indigenous-people-history-north-dakota-access-pipeline-protest>

¹⁴⁴ Wendsler Nosie, Sr, “Apache Stronghold Letter to Dave Archambault, II,” August 18, 2016 <http://standwithstandingrock.net/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/2016-8-18-Apache-Strong-Hold.jpg> (last accessed November 30, 2016).

¹⁴⁵ Russel Begaye and Jonathan Nez, “Navajo Nation Letter to Chairman Dave Archambault, II,” August 22, 2016 <http://standwithstandingrock.net/supporters/> (last accessed November 30, 2016).

¹⁴⁶ Thomas Beauty, “Yavapai-Apache Nation Letter to the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe,” September 12, 2016 <http://standwithstandingrock.net/supporters/> (last accessed November 30, 2016).

¹⁴⁷ Stand with Standing Rock, “Support from Cities Across America,” <http://standwithstandingrock.net/supporters/?support=municipal> (last accessed November 30, 2016).

¹⁴⁸ The City of Minneapolis, “Expressing Solidarity With Indigenous Resistance to the Dakota Access Pipeline,” <http://standwithstandingrock.net/supporters/?support=municipal> (last accessed November 30, 2016).

¹⁴⁹ Stand with Standing Rock, “Supporters,” <http://standwithstandingrock.net/supporters/> (last accessed November 30, 2016).

¹⁵⁰ John T. Tarrant, the Right Reverend, X Bishop, in a letter of support from The Episcopal Diocese of South Dakota to the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, September 1, 2016, <http://standwithstandingrock.net/supporters/?support=organizational> (last accessed November 30, 2016).

¹⁵¹ Rizza Islam, in “Manning: Standing Rock Camp Undaunted, Committed, Peaceful,” by Sarah Sunshine Manning, *Indian Country Media Network*, September 16, 2016, <https://indiancountrymedianetwork.com/news/native-news/manning-standing-rock-camp-undaunted-committed-peaceful/>

¹⁵² Manning, “Standing Rock Camp Undaunted.”

¹⁵³ Katherine Bagley, “New Study Says Even 2 Degrees of Warming 'Highly Dangerous,’” *Inside Climate News*, July 21, 2015, <https://insideclimatenews.org/news/21072015/new-study-says-even-2-degrees-warming-highly-dangerous>

¹⁵⁴ Black Lives Matter, “Black Lives Matter Stands in Solidarity with Water Protectors at Standing Rock,” <http://blacklivesmatter.com/solidarity-with-standing-rock/>

¹⁵⁵ Black Lives Matter, “In Solidarity.”

¹⁵⁶ Democracy Now!, “Breaking: Probe Finds Guards Who Unleashed Dogs on Pipeline Protestors Were Not Licensed in ND,” *Democracy Now!*, October 26, 2016, https://www.democracynow.org/2016/10/26/morton_county_finishes_investigation_into_dogs see also Democracy Now!, “Dakota Access Pipeline Company Attacks Protestors with

Dogs and Pepper Spray,”

https://www.democracynow.org/2016/9/4/dakota_access_pipeline_company_attacks_native

¹⁵⁷ Standing Rock Medic and Healer Council Press Release, November 22, 2016, <https://docs.google.com/document/d/1sU15VLnlJlEdVB4H6SmLaQ2gQ25mtSjpFpVu4daGVTE/mobilebasic>

¹⁵⁸ Manu Vimalassery, "Fugitive Decolonization," *Theory & Event* 19, no. 4 (2016). <https://muse.jhu.edu/> (accessed February 15, 2017).

¹⁵⁹ Vimalassery, "Fugitive Decolonization."

¹⁶⁰ Vimalassery, "Fugitive Decolonization."

¹⁶¹ Jimmy Tobias, "These Cities Are Pulling Billions From the Banks That Support the Dakota Access Pipeline," *The Nation*, March 20, 2017, <https://www.thenation.com/article/these-cities-are-divesting-from-the-banks-that-support-the-dakota-access-pipeline/> see also "San Francisco Moves to Divest from Banks Financing Dakota Access Pipeline," *Democracy Now!*, March 16, 2017, https://www.democracynow.org/2017/3/16/headlines/san_francisco_moves_to_divest_from_banks_financing_dakota_access_pipeline

¹⁶² Valerie Richardson, "New York City Mayor de Blasio: Interested in cutting ties to pipeline banks," *The Washington Times*, February 12, 2017, <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2017/feb/12/bill-de-blasio-new-york-city-interested-cutting-ti/>

¹⁶³ James Baldwin, "Notes for a Hypothetical Novel," in *Nobody Knows My Name* (London: Penguin Books, 1991), 128-29.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Newspapers, Magazines, other Media:

Arasim, Emily, and Osprey Orielle Lake. "15 Indigenous Women on the Frontlines of the Dakota Access Pipeline Resistance." *EcoWatch All Shades of Green*. October 29, 2016. <http://www.ecowatch.com/indigenous-women-dakota-access-pipeline-2069613663.html>

Archambault II, David. Speech at the Center for the Study of Ethnicity and Race at Columbia University. *Indigenous Forum Columbia University*, October 26, 2016. <http://www.cser.columbia.edu/idg-forum>

Archambault II, David. "Taking a Stand at Standing Rock." *New York Times*, August 24, 2016. https://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/25/opinion/taking-a-stand-at-standing-rock.html?_r=0

Allard, LaDonna Brave Bull. "Why the Founder of Standing Rock Sioux Camp Can't Forget the Whitestone Massacre." *Yes! Magazine*, September 3, 2016. <http://www.yesmagazine.org/people-power/why-the-founder-of-standing-rock-sioux-camp-cant-forget-the-whitestone-massacre-20160903>

Begaye, Russel and Jonathan Nez. "Navajo Nation Letter to Chairman Dave Archambault, II." August 22, 2016. <http://standwithstandingrock.net/supporters/> (last accessed November 30, 2016).

Beauty, Thomas. "Yavapai-Apache Nation Letter to the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe." September 12, 2016. <http://standwithstandingrock.net/supporters/> (last accessed November 30, 2016).

Bidzíl, Shiyé. <https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100008607349> (last accessed January 30, 2016).

Black Lives Matter. "Black Lives Matter Stands in Solidarity with Water Protectors at Standing Rock." *Black Lives Matter*. September 3, 2016. <http://blacklivesmatter.com/solidarity-with-standing-rock/> (last accessed November 30, 2016).

City of Minneapolis. "Expressing Solidarity With Indigenous Resistance to the Dakota Access Pipeline." <http://standwithstandingrock.net/supporters/?support=municipal> (last accessed November 30, 2016).

Dalrymple, Amy. "Pipeline Route Plan First Called for Crossing North of Bismarck." Forum News Service. *Bismarck Tribune*. August 18, 2016.

http://bismarcktribune.com/news/state-and-regional/pipeline-route-plan-first-called-for-crossing-north-of-bismarck/article_64d053e4-8a1a-5198-a1dd-498d386c933c.html

Democracy Now!. "Breaking: Probe Finds Guards Who Unleashed Dogs on Pipeline Protestors Were Not Licensed in ND." *Democracy Now!*, October 26, 2016.

https://www.democracynow.org/2016/10/26/morton_county_finishes_investigation_into_dogs

Democracy Now!. "Full Exclusive Report: Dakota Access Pipeline Co. Attacks Native Americans with Dogs & Pepper Spray." *Democracy Now!*. September 6, 2016.

http://www.democracynow.org/2016/9/6/full_exclusive_report_dakota_access_pipeline

Democracy Now!. "Lakota Activist Debra White Plume from Pine Ridge: Why I am a Water Protector at Standing Rock." *Democracy Now!*. September 12, 2016.

http://www.democracynow.org/2016/9/12/lakota_activist_debra_white_plume_from

Democracy Now! "Midwives at Dakota Access Resistance Camps: We Can Decolonize, Respect Women & Mother Earth." *Democracy Now!*. Interview with Melissa Rose, Carolina Reyes, and Yuwita Win. October 18, 2016.

http://www.democracynow.org/2016/10/18/midwives_at_dakota_access_resistance_camps

Democracy Now!. "Native American Activist Winona LaDuke at Standing Rock: It's Time to Move On from Fossil Fuels." *Democracy Now!*. September 12, 2016.

http://www.democracynow.org/2016/9/12/native_american_activist_winona_laduke_at

Democracy Now!. "Part 2: Winona LaDuke & Tara Houska on the Indigenous Resistance to the Dakota Access Pipeline." *Democracy Now!* October 17, 2016.

http://www.democracynow.org/2016/10/17/part_2_winona_laduke_tara_houska

Democracy Now!. "San Francisco Moves to Divest from Banks Financing Dakota Access Pipeline." March 16, 2017.

https://www.democracynow.org/2017/3/16/headlines/san_francisco_moves_to_divest_from_banks_financing_dakota_access_pipeline

Democracy Now!. "Standing Rock Sioux Historian: Dakota Access Co. Attack Comes on Anniversary of Whitestone Massacre." September 6, 2016.

https://www.democracynow.org/2016/9/8/standing_rock_sioux_historian_dakota_access

Dewey, Myron. "drone2bWild." <https://www.facebook.com/drone2bwild/> (last accessed January 28, 2017), also "Digital Smoke Signals." <https://www.facebook.com/DigitalSmokeSignals/posts/10155903755989746> (last accessed February 25, 2017).

Energy Transfer. "The Route." *Energy Transfer*.
<http://www.dapipelinefacts.com/about/route.html>

"From 280 Tribes, a Protest on the Plains." *The New York Times*, September 11, 2016.
<http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/09/12/us/12tribes.html?smid=fb-share&r=3>

Lee, Ana, Bobbi Jean, and the Oceti Sakowin Youth. "Stop the Dakota Access Pipeline." *change.org*.
<https://www.change.org/p/jo-ellen-darcy-stop-the-dakota-access-pipeline>

Luger, Chelsey. "Early Warning: Dakota Access Pipeline Threat." *This Week From Indian Country Today The Premier Newsmagazine Serving the Nations, Celebrating the People*. Fall, 2016. Originally Published March 19, 2016.

Manning, Sarah Sunshine. "Manning: Standing Rock Camp Undaunted, Committed, Peaceful." *Indian Country Today Media Network*. September 16, 2016.
<http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/2016/09/16/manning-standing-rock-camp-undaunted-committed-peaceful-165809>

Miles, Jo and Hugh MacMillan. "Who's Banking on the Dakota Access Pipeline?" *Food and Water Watch*, September 6, 2016.
<http://www.foodandwaterwatch.org/news/who%27s-banking-dakota-access-pipeline>

Nosie, Wendsler, Sr. "Apache Stronghold Letter to Dave Archambault, II." August 18, 2016.
<http://standwithstandingrock.net/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/2016-8-18-Apache-Strong-Hold.jpg>

Parrott, Jason. "Dozens Risk Jail to Halt Oil Pipeline Through Iowa." Tri State Public Radio. September 19, 2016. <http://tspr.org/post/dozens-risk-jail-halt-oil-pipeline-through-iowa>

Parrott, Jason. "Pipeline Opposition Continues; Civil Disobedience Planned." *Tri States Public Radio*. September 15, 2016. <http://tspr.org/post/pipeline-opposition-continues-civil-disobedience-planned>

Richardson, Valerie. "New York City Mayor de Blasio: Interested in cutting ties to pipeline banks" *The Washington Times*, February 12, 2017.
<http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2017/feb/12/bill-de-blasio-new-york-city-interested-cutting-ti/>

“Running for Their Lives: 500-Mile Youth Spiritual Run Against the Dakota Access Pipeline.” *Indian Country Today Media*, May 2, 2016.
<http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/2016/05/02/running-their-lives-500-mile-youth-spiritual-run-against-dakota-access-pipeline-video>

Quinn, Steve. “We Are Water People.” *This Week From Indian Country Today The Premier Newsmagazine Serving the Nations, Celebrating the People*. Fall, 2016. Originally published September 6, 2016.

Sack, Carl M. “A NoDAPL Map: The Black Snake in Sioux Country.” *Northland Iguana*. November 1, 2016. <https://northlandia.wordpress.com/2016/11/01/a-nodapl-map/comment-page-2/#comment-195>

Schwartz, Juliana Britto. “Becoming ‘Water Protectors’ Changed Their Lives.” *CNN Opinion*. October 27, 2016. <http://www.cnn.com/2016/10/27/opinions/youth-against-dakota-pipeline-britto-schwartz/>

Stand With Standing Rock. “Stand With Standing Rock Supporters.”
<http://standwithstandingrock.net/supporters/?support=organizational> (last accessed March 31, 2017).

Stand with Standing Rock, “Support from Cities Across America.”
<http://standwithstandingrock.net/supporters/?support=municipal> (last accessed November 30, 2016).

Standing Rock Medic and Healer Council Press Release. November 22, 2016.
<https://docs.google.com/document/d/1sU15VLnlJlEdVB4H6SmLaQ2gQ25mtSjpFpVu4daGVTE/mobilebasic> (last accessed January 24, 2017).

Standing Rock Sioux Tribe. “Call to Action Update.” *Standing Rock Sioux*.
<http://standingrock.org/news/call-to-action-update/>

Standing Rock Sioux Tribe. “History.” *Standing Rock Sioux*.
<http://standingrock.org/history/> (last accessed November 30, 2016).

Standing Rock Sioux Tribe. “Mni Wiconi –Water is Life.” Last accessed November 26, 2016.
https://www.facebook.com/Standing-Rock-Sioux-Tribe-402298239798452/?hc_ref=PAGES_TIMELINE&fref=nf

Standing Rock Sioux Tribe. “Comprehensive Economic Development Plan, 2013-2017.”
<http://standingrock.org/data/upfiles/files/SRST%20CEDS%20For%20Community%20Review%2012%207%2012.pdf> (last accessed January 3, 2016).

Standing Rock Sioux Tribe. "Standing Rock Sioux Tribe condemns the destruction and desecration of burial grounds by Energy Transfer Partners." *Standing Rock Sioux Tribe*.

http://rabbitsliketrumpets.typepad.com/Press%20Release_Standing%20Rock%20Sioux_%2009032016.pdf

Standing Rock Sioux Tribe. "Supplemental Comments of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe on Dakota Access Pipeline." Letter to US Army Corps of Engineers. March 24, 2016.
<https://www.facebook.com/402298239798452/photos/a.1224940690867532.1073741827.402298239798452/1224940744200860/?type=1&theater> (last accessed December 20, 2016).

Tarrant, John T. "Letter of support from the Episcopal Diocese of South Dakota to the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe." September 1, 2016.
<http://standwithstandingrock.net/supporters/?support=organizational> (last accessed November 30, 2016).

Tobias, Jimmy. "These Cities Are Pulling Billions From the Banks That Support the Dakota Access Pipeline." *The Nation*, March 20, 2017.
<https://www.thenation.com/article/these-cities-are-divesting-from-the-banks-that-support-the-dakota-access-pipeline/>

Whittle, Joe. "'We opened eyes': at Standing Rock, My Fellow Native Americans Make History." *The Guardian*, November 30, 2016.
<https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/nov/30/standing-rock-indigenous-people-history-north-dakota-access-pipeline-protest>

Wong, Julia Carrie. "'This is an Awakening': Native Americans Find New Hope After Standing Rock." *The Guardian*, December 8, 2016.
https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/dec/08/standing-rock-dakota-pipeline-transformation-stories?utm_source=esp&utm_medium=Email&utm_campaign=GU+Today+USA++morning+briefing+2016&utm_term=203308&subid=21022041&CMP=ema_a-morning-briefing_b-morning-briefing_c-US_d-1

Woolf, Nicky. "North Dakota Protesters Stand their Ground: 'This is Sacred Land.'" *The Guardian*, August 29, 2016.
<https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/aug/29/north-dakota-oil-pipeline-protest-standing-rock-sioux>

Governmental/Legal Documentation:

Archambault II, David. "District Court Pleading: Declaration of Dave Archambault II in Support of Motion for Preliminary Injunction." *Earthjustice*. August 4, 2016.
<http://earthjustice.org/sites/default/files/press/2016/Declaration-of-Dave-Archambault-II.pdf>

Advisory Council on Historic Preservation. "Consulting with Tribes in the Section 106 Review Process." *ACHP.gov* Updated August 22, 2005. <http://www.achp.gov/regs-tribes.html>

Capossela, Peter. "Prefiled Expert Rebuttal Testimony on Behalf of the Indigenous Environmental Network and Dakota Rural Action before the Public Utility Commission of the State of South Dakota." August 14, 2014. <https://puc.sd.gov/commission/dockets/HydrocarbonPipeline/2014/HP14-002/rebuttal/ien/capossela.pdf>

Earthjustice. "The Standing Rock Sioux Tribe's Litigation on the Dakota Access Pipeline." <http://earthjustice.org/features/faq-standing-rock-litigation#> (last accessed March 5, 2016).

Fort Laramie Treaty, 1851. "Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties." *Oklahoma State University Library Electronic Publishing Center*. <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/kappler/Vol2/treaties/sio0594.htm> (last accessed March 3, 2017).

Fort Laramie Treaty, 1868. *The Avalon Project Documents in Law, History, and Diplomacy*. http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/nt001.asp

Iowa Utilities Board. "Iowa Utilities Board approves Dakota Access pipeline permit with landowner protections." *Iowa Utilities Board*. March 10, 2016. <https://iub.iowa.gov/sites/default/files/files/media/releases/2016/0310-Board-Decision-Dakota-Access-Pipeline.pdf>

1924 Indian Citizenship Act. *National Parks Service*. <https://www.nps.gov/jame/learn/historyculture/upload/Native-American-Citizenship-2.pdf>

United States Supreme Court. "United States v. Mitchell." 463 U.S. 206 (1983), 225. <https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/463/206/case.html> (last accessed December 15, 2016).

United Nations. Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations, 107th plenary meeting, September 13, 2007.

Secondary Sources

Books or chapters/sections within books:

Alfred, Taiaiake. *Peace, Power, Righteousness An Indigenous Manifesto*. Oxford: Oxford University Press Canada, 2009.

-
- Alfred, Taiaiake. *Wasáse Indigenous Pathways of Action and Freedom*. Canada: Broadview Press, 2005.
- Baldwin, James. "Notes for a Hypothetical Novel." In *Nobody Knows my Name, More Notes of a Native Son*. London: Penguin Books, 1991.
- Coulthard, Glen Sean. *Red Skin White Masks Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014.
- Deloria, Vine Junior. *Custer Died For Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988, New York, 1969.
- Deloria, Vine Junior. In the Introduction to *The Indian Reorganization Act: Congresses and Bills*, edited by Vine Deloria, Junior. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002.
- Dunbar-Ortiz, Roxanne. *An Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2014.
- Goldstein, Alyosha. "Introduction: Toward a Genealogy of the US Colonial Present." In *Formations of United States Colonialism*, edited by Alyosha Goldstein, 1-30. Durham: Duke University Press, 2014.
- LaDuke, Winona. *The Winona LaDuke Chronicles: Stories from the Front Lines in the Battle for Environmental Justice*. Spotted Horse Press, 2016.
- Lawson, Michael L. *Dammed Indians The Pick-Sloan Plan and the Missouri River Sioux, 1944-1980*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982.
- Lawson, Michael L. *Dammed Indians Revisited The Continuing History of the Pick-Sloan Plan and the Missouri River Sioux*. Pierre: South Dakota State Historical Society Press, 2009.
- Lazarus, Edward. *Black Hills White Justice The Sioux Nation versus the United States, 1775 to the Present*. New York: Harper Collins, 1991.
- Locke, John. "Of Property." In *Second Treatise of Government*. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1980 (Originally published in 1690).
- Simpson, Audra. *Mohawk Interruptus (Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States)*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2014.
- Simpson, Leanne. *Dancing On Our Turtle's Back Stories of Nishnaabeg Re-Creation, Resurgence and a New Emergence*. Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring Publishing, 2011.

Smith, Paul Chaat, and Robert Allen Warrior. *Like a Hurricane The Indian Movement from Alcatraz to Wounded Knee*. New York: The New Press, 1996.

Tsosie, Rebecca. "Native Women and Leadership: An Ethics of Culture and Relationships." In *Indigenous Women and Feminism: Politics Activism, Culture*, eds. Cheryl Suzack, Shari M. Huhndorf, Jeannie Perreault, and Jean Barman. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010.

Walia, Harsha. "Decolonizing Together: Moving Beyond a Politics of Solidarity Toward a Practice of Decolonization." In *The Winter We Danced Voices from the Past, the Future, and the Idle No More Movement*, edited by the Kino-nda-niimi Collective, 44-51. Winnipeg: ARP Books, 2014.

Woolford, Andrew, Jeff Benvenuto, and Alexander Laban Hinton, editors. *Colonial Genocide In Indigenous North America*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2014.

Journal Articles:

Kauanui, J. Kehaulani (Kanaka Maole) and Patrick Wolfe. "Settler Colonialism Then and Now." *Politica & Societa* 2, (2012): 235-258.

Mamdani, Mahmood. "Settler Colonialism: Then and Now." *Critical Inquiry* 41, (Spring 2015): 1-19.

Prygoski, Philip J. "From Marshall to Marshall The Supreme Court's Changing Stance on Tribal Sovereignty." *American Bar Association Defending Liberty Pursuing Justice*. Accessed on October 14, 2016.
http://www.americanbar.org/content/newsletter/publications/gp_solo_magazine_home/gp_solo_magazine_index/marshall.html#top

Simpson, Audra. "The State is a Man: Theresa Spence, Loretta Saunders and the Gender of Settler Sovereignty." *Theory & Event* 19, no. 4 (2016). <https://muse.jhu.edu/> (accessed February 14, 2017).

Simpson, Leanne. In conversation with Naomi Klein, "Dancing the World into Being: A conversation with Idle No More's Leanne Simpson," *Yes! Magazine*, March 5, 2013, <http://www.yesmagazine.org/peace-justice/dancing-the-world-into-being-a-conversation-with-idle-no-more-leanne-simpson> (last access 20 february 2017).

Simpson, Leanne Betasamosake. "Land as pedagogy: Nishnaabeg Intelligence and Rebellious Transformation." *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 3, No. 3 (2014): 1-25. <http://decolonization.org/index.php/des/article/view/22170/17985>

Simpson, Leanne Betasamosake. "An Indigenous View on #BlackLivesMatter." *Yes! Magazine*, December 05, 2014. <http://www.yesmagazine.org/peace-justice/indigenous-view-black-lives-matter-leanne-simpson>

Vimalassery, Manu. "Fugitive Decolonization." *Theory & Event* 19, no. 4 (2016).
<https://muse.jhu.edu/> (accessed February 15, 2017).

Vimalassery, Manu. "The wealth of Natives: toward a critique of settler colonial political economy." *Settler Colonial Studies* 3, no. 3-4 (2013): 295-310.
<http://www.tandfonline.com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/doi/full/10.1080/2201473X.2013.810701?scroll=top&needAccess=true> (last accessed February 14, 2016).

Wolfe, Patrick. "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native." *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (2006): 387-409.

Media and Web Sources:

Bagley, Katherine. "New Study Says Even 2 Degrees of Warming 'Highly Dangerous.'" *Inside Climate News*, July 21, 2015.
<https://insideclimatenews.org/news/21072015/new-study-says-even-2-degrees-warming-highly-dangerous>

Bell, Blake. "America's Invitation to the World: Was the Homestead Act the First Accommodating Immigration Legislation in the United States?" *National Parks Service*, <https://www.nps.gov/home/learn/historyculture/upload/Immigration-White-Paper.pdf> (last accessed on February 20, 2017).

Blackhawk, Ned. "Remember the Sand Creek Massacre." *The New York Times*, November 27, 2014. https://www.nytimes.com/2014/11/28/opinion/remember-the-sand-creek-massacre.html?_r=0

[Center for History and New Media](#) at George Mason University. "Capt. Richard H. Pratt on the Education of Native Americans," *History Matters: the US Survey Course on the Web* <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/4929/>

Cothran, Boyd and Ari Kelman. "How the Civil War Became the Indian Wars." *The New York Times*, May 25, 2015, https://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2015/05/25/how-the-civil-war-became-the-indian-wars/?_r=0 (last accessed December 28, 2016).

Dennis, Brady and Juliet Eilperin. "Trump signs order at the EPA to dismantle environmental protections." *Washington Post*, March 28, 2017.
https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/health-science/trump-signs-order-at-the-epa-to-dismantle-environmental-protections/2017/03/28/3ec30240-13e2-11e7-ada0-1489b735b3a3_story.html?utm_term=.10477afe110

Horwitz, Sara. "The hard Lives – and High Suicide Rate – of Native American Children on Reservations." *The Washington Post*, March 9, 2014.

https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/the-hard-lives--and-high-suicide-rate--of-native-american-children/2014/03/09/6e0ad9b2-9f03-11e3-b8d8-94577ff66b28_story.html?utm_term=.ce34ff913849

Horwitz, Tony. "The Horrific Sand Creek Massacre will be Forgotten No More," *Smithsonian Magazine*, December 2014. <http://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/horrific-sand-creek-massacre-will-be-forgotten-no-more-180953403/>

Jiang, Caroline, Andreea Mitran, Arialdi Miniño, and Hanyu Ni. "Racial and Gender Disparities in Suicide Among Young Adults Aged 18–24: United States, 2009–2013." *National Center for Health Statistics, Center for Disease Control*, September 2015. http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/hestat/suicide/racial_and_gender_2009_2013.pdf

King, Patti Jo. "The truth About the Wounded Knee Massacre: Why was deadly force used at Wounded Knee?" *Indian Country Media Network*, December 30, 2016. <https://indiancountrymedianetwork.com/history/events/the-truth-about-the-wounded-knee-massacre/>

Lakota People's Law Project. "Native Lives Matter." *Lakota People's Law Project*. February, 2015. <http://www.docs.lakotalaw.org/reports/Native%20Lives%20Matter%20PDF.pdf> (last accessed March 3, 2017).

Landry, Alysia. "Native History: AIM Occupation of Wounded Knee Begins." *Indian Country Today Media Network*. February 27, 2014. <http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/2014/02/27/native-history-aim-occupation-wounded-knee-begins-153765>

Northern Plains Reservation Aid. "Reservations North Dakota: Standing Rock." *American Indian Relief Council/Northern Plains Reservation Aid*, http://www.nativepartnership.org/site/PageServer?pagename=airc_res_nd_standingrock (last accessed November 30, 2016).

Northern Plains Reservation Aid. "History and Culture: Termination Policy 1953-1968." *Northern Plains Reservation Aid*. http://www.nrcprograms.org/site/PageServer?pagename=airc_hist_terminationpolicy

Oceti Sakowin Camp. "Oceti Sakowin Camp: Seven Council Fires, History," *Oceti Sakowin.org* <http://www.ocetisakowincamp.org/history> (last accessed November 12, 2016).

PBS Newshour. "For Great Sioux Nation, Black Hill Can't Be Bought for \$1.3 Billion." *PBS Newshour*, August 24, 2011. http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/social_issues-july-dec11-blackhills_08-24/

Pratt, William H. In a paper given at the *Nineteenth Annual Conference of Charities and Correction (1892)*, accessed from <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/4929/> (last accessed December 28, 2016).

Sisk, Amy. "While One Tribe Fights Oil, Another Cautiously Embraces It." *Inside Energy*, November 22, 2016.
<http://insideenergy.org/2016/11/22/while-one-tribe-fights-oil-another-cautiously-embraces-it/>

State Historical Society of North Dakota. "The History and Culture of the Standing Rock Oyate," *North Dakota Studies Project* at the State Historical Society of North Dakota.
<http://www.ndstudies.org/resources/IndianStudies/standingrock/whitestone.html>
l (last accessed January 10, 2017).

Van Gelder, Sarah. "Why Canada's Indigenous Uprising is About All of Us." *yes! magazine*, February 7, 2013. , <http://www.yesmagazine.org/issues/how-cooperatives-are-driving-the-new-economy/why-canada2019s-indigenous-uprising-is-about-all-of-us>

Valley News Live. "ND Lawmakers allow for oil spills up to 10 barrels to go unreported." *Valley News Live*, March 28, 2017.
<http://www.valleynewslive.com/content/news/ND-Lawmakers-allow-for-oil-spills-up-to-10-barrels-to-go-unreported-417273153.html>

Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office. "Fort Laramie," *Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office*, WyoHistory.org,
<http://www.wyohistory.org/encyclopedia/fort-laramie> (last accessed December 29, 2016).